MEDIEVAL ORISSA

A Socio-Economic Study

Shishir Kumar Panda

The present work deals with an important aspect of Orissa history. The period from A.D. 1038 to A.D. 1568 marks the ascendency of the later Eastern Gaṅgas followed by the Suryavamśi Gajapatis which led to the emergence of a 'Regional Hindu Kingdom' in Eastern India. The Gaṅgas extended their kingdom from the river Hooghly (Ganga) in the north to the river Godavari (Gautami Ganga) in the South. Also, the Suryavamśi Gajapatis at the beginning of their rule further expanded Orissan kingdom towards South upto Srirangam. The rising tide of the Turkish invasion in Northern and Eastern India could not stem the flow of political developments in Orissa. Orissa remained as an independent kingdom upto A.D. 1568 and only during the weak rule of Mukundadeva, it was conquered by the Turko - Afghans.

The main objective of the study is to investigate the pattern of socio-economic life of the people of Orissa from A.D. 1038-1568. The Later Eastern Ganga period marked the material prosperity with rise in agrarian products and flourishing trade and commerce, whereas the Suryavamśi Gajapati period ended with decline in its material prosperity of Orissa has been investigated in this work. This period marked the decline in trade and commerce, rampant immorality in the society and defects in the government machinery which explain the decline in the life of the people of the then Orissa which ultimately paved the way for the Turko-Afghan conquest of Orissa in A.D. 1568.

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Shishir Kumar Panda

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In

Memory of My Father.

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Preface

The most widely discussed topic in current socio-economic literature is the problem of under-developed countries, but adequate attention has not been paid to their historical evolution. This also happens to be the case with the state of Orissa. Although of late, there has been a good number of works on the history and culture of Orissa, no systematic research has so far been undertaken on the socio-economic history of early Orissa. Recent studies on Indian History have shown the importance of socio-economic study as providing necessary insight for understanding early Indian society. An extension of this type of study, would be to undertake a detailed work on the pattern of regional economy and society in India. An attempt is being made in the present work with relation to Orissa of the medieval period of her history.

The present work is based on the findings of my M. Phil. dissertation submitted to the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in 1979. I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor Professor B. D. Chattopadhyaya for his valuable guidance without which the present work would not have been possible.

In course of its examination the dissertation passed through the eminent historians like Professor Romila Thapar and Professor Hermann Kulke. My thanks are due to them for their constructive criticisms and valuable suggestions.

Also my thanks are due to Professor K. S. Behera, Head, Post-Graduate Department of History, Utkal University for sharing his views regarding the temples of medieval Orissa.

Further I thank Professor P. K. Mishra of Sambalpur University who helped me in various ways and inspired me to publish this work.

I am also thankful to the Library staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University, Archaeological Survey of India Library and Superintendent, Orissa State Museum for their help and assistance.

I am also grateful to the Indian Council of Historical Research for awarding me a contingency grant to carry out this work.

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However, where I thank all those who helped me in many ways, I am alone responsible for the views, facts and opinions stated in the present work.

SHISHIR KUMAR PANDA

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Abbreviations

ASI	Archaeological Survey of India (Annual Report).
ABORI	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
BI	Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IHR	The Indian Historical Review, ICHR, New Delhi.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IO	Inscription of Orrissa.
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajmundry.
JAIH	Journal of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta.
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JBBRAS	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
JESHO	Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, Paris.
JHR	Journal of Historical Research, Ranchi.
JIH	Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
JKHRS	Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society.
JNSI	Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), Calcutta.
Mbh.	Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa.
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal, Bhubaneswar.
PIHC	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
Ram.	Jagamohana Ramayana of Jagannatha Dasa.
SII	South Indian Inscriptions.

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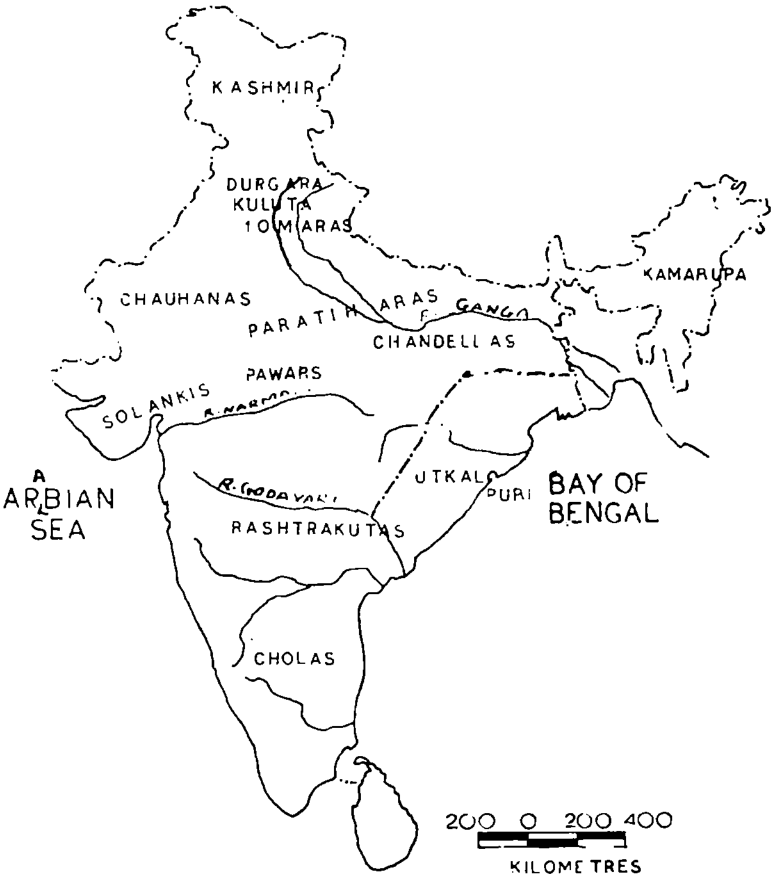
Figure I Map of Orissa in the Reign of Anantavarman Cholagangadeva, c. A.D. 1078-1152.



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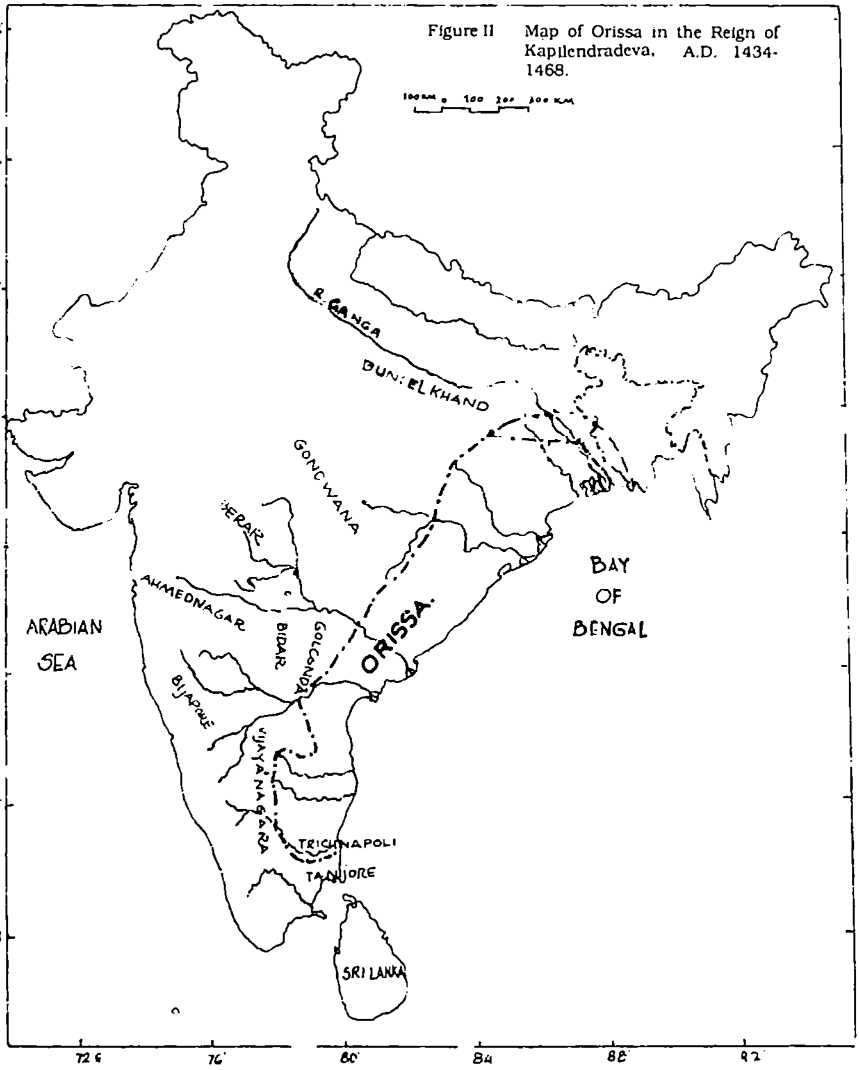

Figure II Map of Orissa in the Reign of Kapilendradeva, A.D. 1434-1468.

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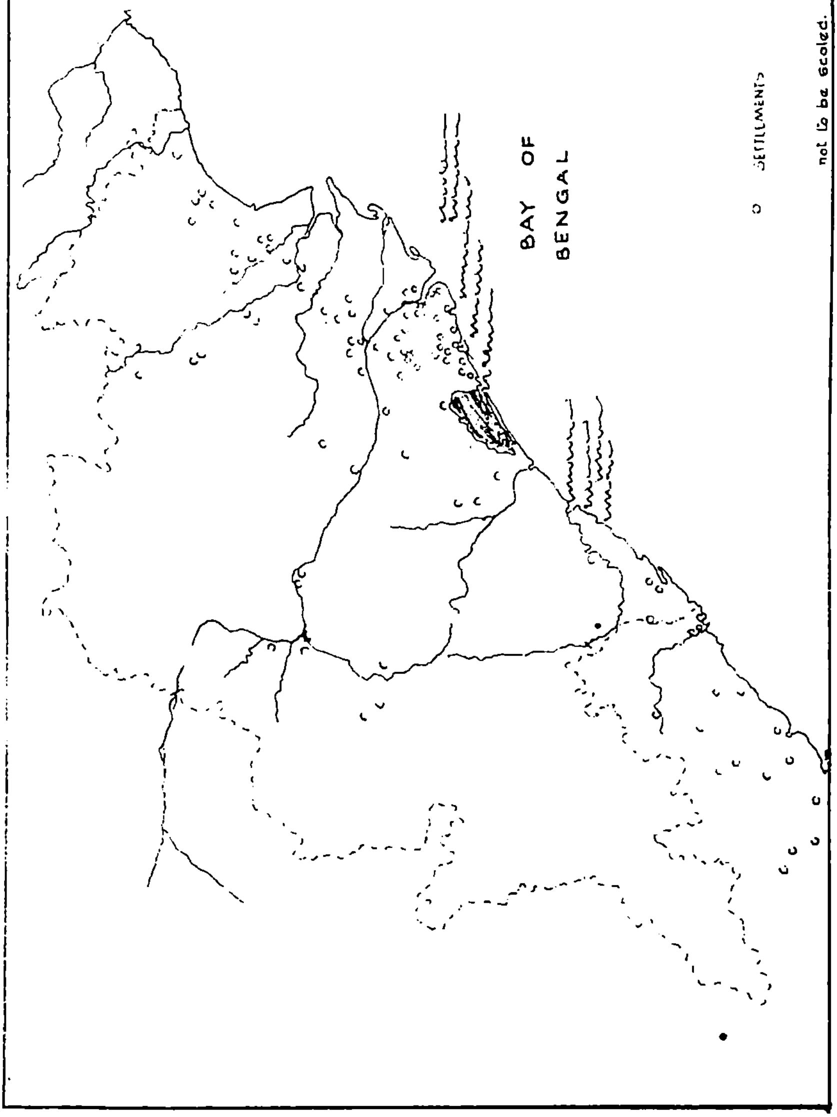
Figure III Brahmanical Settlements of Medieval Orissa



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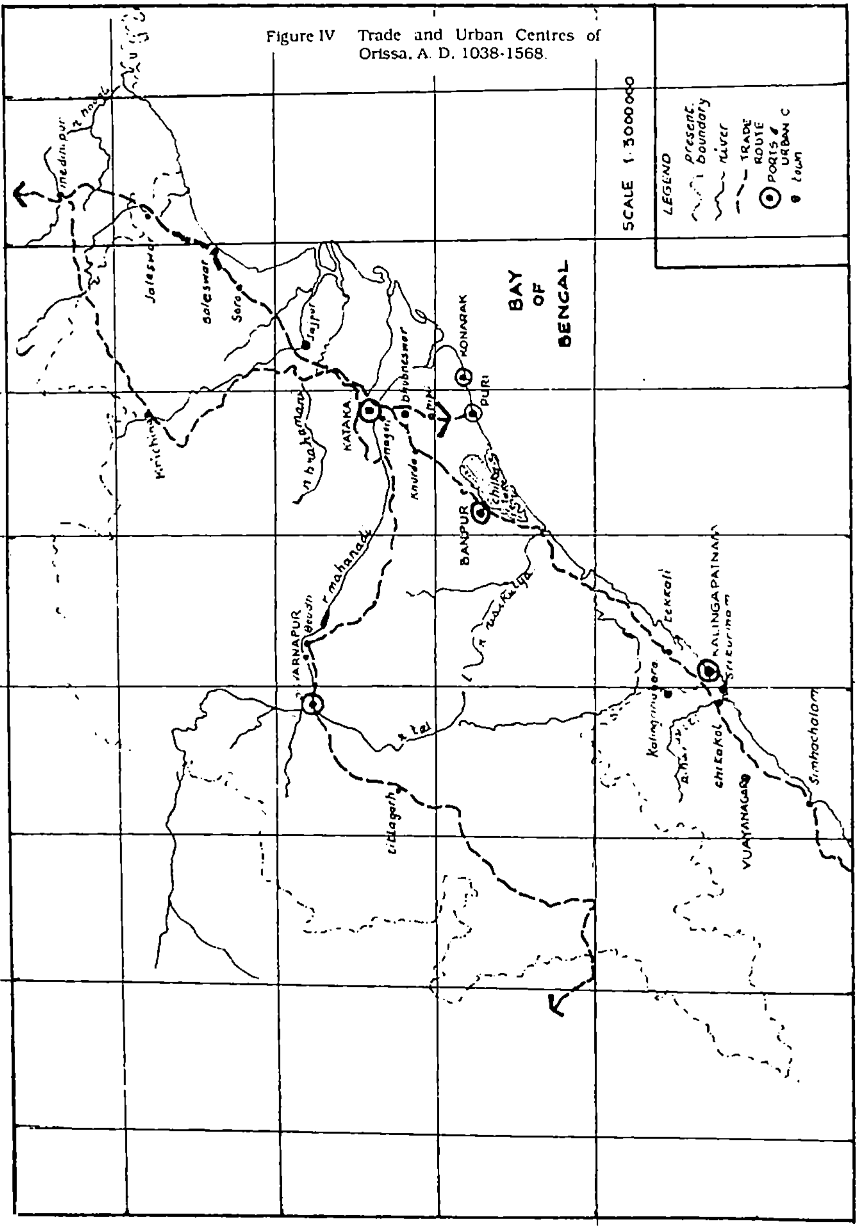

Figure IV Trade and Urban Centres of Orissa, A. D. 1038-1568.

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Introduction

The period from A.D. 1038 to A.D. 1568 marks an important chapter in the history of Orissa. The ascedancy of the Later Eastern Gaṅgas followed by the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis led to the emergence of a regional Hindu empire in Eastern India. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva (A.D. 1078-1152), the mighty emperor of the Later Eastern Gaṅgas extended his empire from the river Hooghly in the north to the river Godavari in the south. Also, Kapilendradeva (A.D. 1434-1468), the first emperor of the Suryavaṁśī Gajapatis further expanded his empire towards south upto Srirangam. The rising tide of the Turkish invasion in Northern and Eastern India could not stem the flow of political developments in Orissa. Orissa remained an independent kingdom upto A.D. 1568 and only during the weak rule of Mukundadeva, it was conquered by the Turko-Afghans.

The main objective of the study is to investigate the pattern of socio-economic life of the people of Orissa from A.D. 1038 to 1568. The Later Eastern Gaṅga period marked the climax of its material prosperity with rise in agrarian products and flourishing trade and commerce, whereas the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati period ended with decline in its material prosperity within the time-frame of five hundred years. The spectacular rise and decline in the material prosperity of Orissa which weakened its martial spirit has been investigated. It has been explained how the land tenure system developed during the Gaṅga period led to the rise of an intermediary class in the agrarian economy which threatened the central authority of the Gajapati rulers in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the rise of various religious trends and grant of land to different donees coupled with expansion of the Ganga empire facilitated the social mobility of people in the caste-bound hierarchical society. This in turn, demolished the rigidity of the *varṇa*-based society in the Gajapati period. The decline in trade and commerce, increase of states expenditure on religion activities a trend of economic decline in the life of the people of the then Orissa.

In recent years a number of studies on dynastic history of Orissa have come out. But no serious attempt has been made to study the socio-economic life of medieval Orissa (1038-1568 A.D.). Even studies on the socio-economic life of Northern India did not cover the various economic and social aspects

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of the people of Orissa in the said period. With the exception of some stray references to Orissa, scholars have not utilised all epigraphic and literary evidences. The singular work by A. P. Sah, *Life in Medieval Orissa, c. A.D. 600-1200* is a pioneering venture to depict the socio-economic life of medieval Orissa. Even though he has fully utilised the inscriptional sources, his study remains descriptive rather than analytical. The study period from *c.* A.D. 600-1200 has failed to convey changes brought by the ascendancy of the Later Eastern Gaṅgas in Orissa.

Another work, *Economic History of Orissa from the Earliest Times to 1833,* written by B. S. Das covers fairly a long period. As the book mainly deals with Maratha and British period of Orissan economic history, its chapters on the ancient and medieval periods are scrappy and nothing else than a theoretical Marxist exercise to prove the concept of feudalism, its genesis and development in Orissa. The author wanted mainly to explain the decline of the Orissan economy in the nineteenth century which started from the medieval period with rise of the so-called feudalism.

C. V. Ramchandra Rao, in his thesis, *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra (A.D. 1038-1538) under the Later Eastern Gaṅgas and the Suryavaṁśa Gajapatis* has widely discussed the administrative history of the Gaṅgas and Gajapatis. He has also depicted the then social conditions but the economic aspects of life has not been dealt with. His study is confined mainly to the geographical areas of Andhra portion of the Gaṅga and Gajapati empire.

P. Mukherjee's book, *The Suryavaṁś Gajapati kings of Orissa* deals with social conditions of Orissa in the Gajapati period only in two chapters. K.C. Sahoo in his book, *Medieval Life and Literature of Orissa* has touched some facets of life. His study, however, remains descriptive and is based on the vernacular literature of the period.

There are also other works on the history of various religious institutions of Orissa. Mention may be made of P. Mukherjee's *The History of Vaiṣṇavism in Medieval Orissa,* and *History of the Chaitanya Movement in Orissa,* K.C. Mishra's *The Cult of Jagannatha.* Besides these, B. Mohanty's thesis, *Oḍiśāra Nātha Sampradāya o Nātha Sāhitya* (in Oriya) is a refreshing research on an obsecure religious cult of Orissa. These works mainly deal with genesis, growth and philosophy of the then Orissa. They have neither revealed the then society nor their impact on the society.

The cult of Jagannatha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, edited by A. Eschmann, H. Kulke and G.C. Tripathy is a valuable contribution on the history of Orissan culture. The book consists of a number of articles by a team of scholars under the Orissa Research Project undertaken by Heidelberg University. The project has applied an interdisciplinary approach in the study, highlighting the origin, development and organisation of a regional tradition. It is concluded that exposition of the cult of Jagannātha can not be complete

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without a reference to the political history of Orissa, association of kingship with the cult, social structure, beliefs, traditions and the literary anthropological and economic aspects.

As compared to earlier periods of the Orissan history, this period has a rich epigraphic, archaeological and literary source materials which have been so far neglected by the scholars in their studies of socio-economic conditions of the medieval Orissa.

The epigraphic sources of the period consist of inscriptions i.e., copper plate grants and temple inscriptions. A large number of copper plate grants are found in this period. The inscriptions are engraved mainly on the walls of the temples. Notable among them are the Liṅgarāj temple at Bhubaneswar, Jagannātha temple at Puri and temples of Mukhalingam, Draksharam, Palur, Srikurmam and Simhachalam, the places which were the spheres of influence of the Gaṅga and Gajapati rulers. The inscriptions are written in Sanskrit, Oriya and Telugu scripts. Sanskrit words are sometimes mixed with Oriya words. Some inscriptions are written in both Sanskrit and Telugu scripts. Almost all the epigraphs are dated, years are more often regnal or refer to the Śaka era. Their paleography also helps to determine their period. The contents of copper plate grants follow a definite pattern where details of the donor, donee, conditions of the grants and year of grants are mentioned.

These inscriptions utilized by different scholars to study the political history of Orissa, reveal other facets of life too. Besides political aspects, they provide informations on the territorial expansion of Orissa, brahmanical settlements, trade and urban centres. To study the agrarian economy and land tenure system, these inscriptions are used as the main source of investigation. They contain references to land tenure, land grant, land sale, land revenue and land measurement. Informations about the agricultural products, means of irrigation, crafts and industries, trade and merchandise, role of temples in economy and society are derived from the materials provided by them. Evidences regarding social life of Orissa available in epigraphic sources are rather meagre. A few scattered references to the social structure and different castes and communities are found on them.

The archaeological evidences are mainly the sculptures depicted in the temples of Liṅgarāj (11th century A.D.) at Bhubaneswar, Jagannātha temple (12th century A.D.) at Puri and Sun temple (13th century A.D.) at Konark. These sculptures provide informations about the pattern of dress, ornament, music and dance of Orissa.

Literature of the period, indigenous and foreign, is the next important source of study. The materials for the studies are scattered in a variety of Sanskrit, Oriya, Apabhraṁśa, Bengali, Hindi, Telugu and Tamil literatures as well as in the accounts of foreign travellers who visited the neighbouring states. The present study demands a concern for the contemporary literary sources of the period but a necessity to explain the changes and continuity in different aspects of the

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then contemporary life necessitates a thorough probing into the relevant literary sources of the early and later centuries too.

The Ganga period suffers from a paucity of literary evidences containing historical data than the Suryavaṁśī Gajapati period. Śiśuveda[1] (13th century A.D.) one of the earliest books in Oriya, written by an anonymous Natha monk, deals with Śaivism and exposition of the tantra tenets and rituals. *Rudrasudhānidhi*[2] (13th century A.D.) of Avadhuta Nārāyaṇa Śvāmi refers to the education system of the then Orissa.

Mādaḷā Pāñji[3] (c. 16th century A.D.) the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple of Puri is the most controversial work in Oriya literature. The authenticity of *Mādaḷā Pāñji* has been challenged by historians and the *Rājacharita* (dynastic history) portion has been discarded on several grounds. However, A.B. Mohanty[4] is of the opinion that for the period between thirteenth and sixteenth centuries the accounts contained in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* are dependable. Though the *Pāñji* cannot be relied upon to study the political history of Orissa, it may be used for depicting the socio-economic life of the people as it contains some stray references to state's income, expenditure, land administration and famines of Orissa.

The *Mahābhārata*[5] of Sarala Dasa (15th century A.D.) is a mine of information for the study of socio-economic life of Orissa. It contains information regarding economic, social and religious aspects of the then Oriya life.

Next important Oriya literature of the period are the works of the *Panchasakha* group of poets who flourished in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Among these works *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa*[6] (16th century A.D.) of Balarama Dasa is worth mentioning. It contains information about the social life of Orissa. The Oriya *Bhāgavata*[7] (16th century) of Jagannātha Dāsa, mainly a theological work, gives information about the socio-religious life of the then Orissa.

Among other works of *Panchasakhā* group Ananta Dāsa's *Gōvinda Chandra*[8] deals with the philosophy of Nātha *yōgis* and it is still sung by the Nātha mendicants. The *Māḷikās* (Prophecies) of Achyutananda Dāsa shows the conflict and tensions in the society which he wrote in the style of predictions for future. The *Harivaṁśa*[9] of the same author describes the life story of Śrīkṛṣṇa, the lord of the *Gauḍas* (cowherds) thus bolstering up their social status and social consciousness in the society.

There are also other literary works, such as, *Parimaḷa*[10] (A.D. 1530-1540) of Narasimhasena, *Premalōchana*[11] (c. A.D. 1600) of Viṣṇu Dāsa, *Kalpalatā*[12] of Arjunā Dāsa (c. A.D. 1520-1530), *Chāṭa Echchavatī*[13] (16th century A.D.) of Banamāli Dāsa to which references have been made to depict the then life. Several literary texts produced during the period under discussion and references have been made to these works at relevant places.

Many Sanskrit literary texts of the period contain stray references to the socio-economic life of Orissa. Jayadeva's *Gītagōvinda*[14] (12th century A.D.)

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is primarily useful for understanding the state of religion in Orissa. *Chandrakala Natika*[15] of Viśvanātha Kavirāja, a drama of 14th century A.D. refers to the royal life style. North Indian works like the technical text *Yuktikalpataru*[16] (11th century A.D.) of Bhoja which refers to the industrial products of different regions also refers to the manufacturing of swords in Orissa. The *Mānasollasā*[17] (A.D. 1127-38) of the Western Chalukyan king Sōmeśvara is an important source of information regarding the agricultural products in Orissa. The *Sarasvatı Vilāsa*[18] and *Pratāpamartaṇḍa*[19] ascribed to Purushōttama Gajapati contains useful information on social and religious conditions of the people.

Some Buddhist *Charyāpadas*[20] ascribed to the period between 7th to 12th centuries refer to the life of people at the lowest stratum of society. They throw light on agricultural products, food habits, dress of the tribal people and also to the ritualistic life of Tantric *Siddhas*.

Incidental references to other aspects of Orissan economy in the medieval period are also found in foreign accounts. Wang-Ta-Yuan[21], a Chinese writer of the 14th century refers to the rice production and trade in Orissa.

The Portuguese travellers who visited the Vijayanagar empire have given excellent accounts of the said empire. They also have written about the neighbouring kingdom Orissa. The accounts of Domingos Paes[22] (*c.* A.D. 1520-22) deals with geo-political extension and material prosperity of the kingdom of Orissa. The chronicle of Fernao Nuniz[23] (A.D. 1535-37) though mainly deals with the war between the Vijayanagar empire and Gajapati kingdom of Orissa, also throws light on the numerical strength of the army, elephantry and cavalry. Durate Barbosa[24] (A.D. 1500-1516) mentions the fertility of soil and salubrious climate of Orissa.

The Muslim accounts such as *Tabāquat-ı-Nāsiri*[25] (13th century A.D.) of Minhāj-ūd-din bin Sirāj-ūd-din and *Tariq-ı-Firūzshāhi*[26] (14th century A.D.) of Shāms-ı-Shirāj refer generally to the Muslim invasion of Orissa but they also make incidental references to the economic conditions of the people. Ābul Fazl in his *Āin-ı-Ākbari*[27] (15th century A.D.) has given an account of the rent-roll, land assessment, economic data regarding output and price, military description of the land and administrative units of the then Orissa. An account of *Hūdūd-al-Ālam*[28] (9th century A.D.) refers to the industry of pre-Gaṅga period.

The Bengali works *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*[29] (16th century A.D.) of Krishṇadās Kavirāj narrates the visit of the Vaiṣṇava saint Chaitanya to Orissa. Also, *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*[30] (16th century A.D.) of Vrindābana Dāsa and *Chaitanya Maṅgaḷa*[31] (16th century A.D.) of Jayanandadeva throw light on the reign of Pratāprudra Gajapati and his association with Vaiṣnavism.

Some Hindi literature of the contemporary period also give some stray references to Orissa. *Prithvırājarāsō*[32] (13th century A.D.) of Chāndbaradi refers to the cult of Jagannātha. The *Viśāladevarāsō*[33] (13th century A.D.) of Kavi Naḷa refers to the nature of people of Orissa. The *Padmāvat*[34] (16th century A.D.) of Malik Muhammed Jayasi describes the perilous sea journey from Orissa

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to Siṃhala and the large boats of Orissa. Similarly, the *Chitrāvali*[35] of Usman (A.D. 1613) refers to the Jagannātha of Puri.

The Telugu work *Rāvavacakāmu*[36] (16th century A.D.) of Viśvanātha Sthānapati refers to certain traditions of the Gajapati court, the daily routine and military strength of the Gajapati rulers. The medieval Tamil work *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi*[37] (14th century A.D.) of Jayagoṇḍār mainly deals with the conquest of Kaliṅga by Chōḷa king Kulōtuṅga Chōḷa and also references to social and religious conditions of Kaliṅga is found.

The material collected from the sources listed above has been presented in ten chapters. The first chapter deals with the early nucleus of the Gaṅga rule and their imperialistic expansion in Orissa followed by the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis. An attempt has been made to describe the main geographical features of the areas over which the Gaṅgas and Gajapatis ruled. And inscriptional references are used to identify the administrative divisions and location of the villages. This provides an idea of the directions in which the Gaṅga kingdom was expanding and where brahmanical settlements were being formed.

In the second chapter land tenure system in Orissa of the period under review is discussed with emphasis on the pattern of land holding as represented by different groups of holders, i.e., traditional land holders, created land holders (like brāhmaṇas), officials and temples. Also an attempt has been made to show management of land i.e., administration, survey, measurement and boundaries of land. The concept of feudalism, as explained by scholars, has been examined in this chapter.

In the third chapter other aspects related to agricultural land i.e., the location of land, the pattern of agricultural productions and various irrigational facilities available in Orissa are analysed.

The fourth chapter deals with crafts and industries of the period. The possibilities of existence of professional guilds also have been examined in this chapter.

In the fifth chapter, factors responsible for continuation of overseas trade has been examined, which declined towards the last part of fourteenth century and with the accession of the Gajapatis to power. Attempt has been made to assess the economic factors such as village *hāṭṭas*, various merchandise, coins and currency, weights and measures, trade routes, ports and trade centres in the economic life of the community.

In the sixth chapter, attempt is made to show the social base of the rise of the temple architectures in Orissa, their technical features and erotic sculptures. The economic impact of the temples on the life of people and the cultural part played by them has been also discussed.

The seventh chapter deals with various castes and communities of Orissa. Attempt is made to analyse the social structure of Orissa, mobility in the castes, communities and professions leading to social conflicts in the society. Migration

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of population in Orissa being an important factor in increasing the social mobility of people, has been discussed in this chapter.

In the eighth chapter, various facets of life have been discussed, such as, the nature of people, sports and games, entertainments, dress, food habits, music, dance, marriage system and status of women in the society.

The nineth chapter deals with the literature, learning and educational system of Orissa. Continuation of traditional Sanskrit learning and rise of the vernacular Oriya literature has been discussed. Attempt has been made to probe the social base of rise of the Oriya literature and the causes for patronage given to learning by the rulers.

The last chapter tenth, deals with various religious movements of Orissa. Attempt has been made to show the decline of traditional religious values and rise of new religious sects and impact of religious institutions and rituals on the life of the then Orissa, centering round various religious shrines.

There are many issues which has not been tackled in the present work for a number of limitations in terms of space and scope. The Andhra and Bengal territories and the vast area beyond the periphery of the present Orissa ruled by Gaṅgas and Gajapatis, have not been dealt for being outside the scope of present study. Another limitation is that the names of all brahmanical settlements of Orissa could not be identified properly due to the occurence of changes in their names in due course of time. The information available from inscriptions are not always sufficient to locate settlements. This could be an interesting subject of another serious on the historical geography of medieval Orissa. Furthermore, studies done on the other regions of India could not be placed in comparative terms. Art, architecture and mechanics of temple construction are not given sufficient attention for a growing corpus of writings on the subject. However, these limitations are not meant to acknowledge the limited scope of study but to suggest some of the problems directly or indirectly related on the said subject to which attention should be focussed by the future generation of interest scholars on the ancient and medieval Orissa.

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ONE

Historical Geography and Pattern of Settlement

The period from A.D. 1038 with accession to power of the Later Eastern Gaṅgas to A.D. 1568, the defeat of Mukundadeva by the Afghans marks an important chapter in the history of Orissa. For the first time in her history, the Gaṅgas and later the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis wielded political control over an extensive kingdom which constituted various geographical units. The period also marks the gradual integration of various regional principalities and small kingdoms. This led to the emergence of a powerful regional kingdom in Eastern India. The different phases of gradual ascendancy as a mighty power in Orissa is very well sketched by H. Kulke[1]. A large number of inscriptions scattered in different parts of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh and the land grant charters issued by the Gaṅga and Gajapati monarchs provide us evidences on the territorial expansion of Orissa.

The Early Nucleus of the Gaṅga Kingdom

The history of rise of the early Gaṅgas who ruled Kaḷiṅga can be traced as far as the fifth century A.D. Kaḷiṅga at that time was confined to a small principality. It extended upto the river Godavari in the south-west, the river Sabari and Telavaha in the west and the Bay of Bengal in the east[2]. This territory consisted of the modern districts of Ganjam in Orissa, Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh and the southern half of Baster in Madhya Pradesh. The capital of the Gaṅgas from the close of 5th century A.D. was Kaḷiṅganagar which is identified as modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam[3]. In their records the Gaṅgas called themselves *Kaḷiṅgādhipati*[4] (lords of Kaḷiṅga).

Territorial Expansion of Kaḷiṅga

With the rise of the Imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, who had lineal relations with the early Gaṅgas of Kaḷiṅga, and especially with the accession of Vajrahasta III in 1038 A.D., there opened a new chapter in the history of

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Orissa. From this period onwards the dynastic aspirations to achieve the natural boundaries of Kaḷiṅga or '*Sakaḷa Kaḷiṅga*'[5] was gradually fulfilled by the expansionist policy of the successive rulers. Vajrahasta III, in his records is referred as '*Kaḷiṅgādhipati*'.[6] R. D. Banerjee[7] is of the opinion that he decorated that title for bringing the whole area of Trikaḷiṅga which constituted the northern and southern half of the Ganjam district, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh.

Rājarājadeva (A.D. 1070-78), the successor of Vajrahasta III, had to enter into a war with Kulōttuṅga of Veṅgi. In Dirghasi inscription[8] of Bāṇapati (1075 A.D.) the prime minister and the general of Rājarājadeva reported to have defeated the rulers of Veṅgi, Utkaḷa, Khimidi and Gidrisiṅgi and also Dāddārnava. So his kingdom extended upto the hill of Simhachalam in the south, the river Ṛṣikulyā in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Khimidi region in the west.

Chōḍagaṅgadeva (A.D. 1078-1152) is known as one of the greatest expansionist monarchs of Orissa. By his conquests, mentioned in his copper plate grants, Chōḍagaṅgadeva extended his kingdom upto the Gaṅgā in the north and to the Gōdāvari in the south. The Kendupatana copper plate[9] A.D. 1295 states that he collected revenue from all the lands between the Gaṅgā (Hooghly) and Gōmati Gaṅgā (Godavari). The most strategic device of the conqueror was transfer of his capital from Kaḷiṅganagara (Mukhalingam) to Kaṭaka which is modern Cuttack situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi. This shifting of the centre of political gravity from Kaḷiṅganagara to Kaṭaka was of vital importance to the rapidly expanding empire of the Gaṅgas. It might have been necessitated by a desire to consolidate the administrative machinery.

Territorial Expansion of the Gaṅgas towards Western Orissa

The conflict between the Kāḷachūris and the Gaṅgas seems to have taken place for the possession of the Trikaḷiṅga and Kōśaḷa territories. Rājarājadeva entered into conflict with the Kāḷachūris when his general Bāṇapati invaded Oḍra and Kōśala.[10] The Gaṅga-Kāḷachūri conflict continued for a long time and the issue between them remained unsettled till the time of the accession of Anaṅgabhimadeva in A.D. 1211. The Chaṭeśvara inscription[11], reveals that Viṣṇu, the general of Anaṅgabhimadeva, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Kāḷachūri king of Tummāṇa. As a result of his victory the Gaṅgas occupied the modern Sonepur-Bolangir region by driving out the ruling Kāḷachuris. The occupation of Sonepur by the Gaṅgas is known from the Khamveśvari temple inscription[12] which reveals the rule of a Gaṅga governor in that region during the time of Bhānudeva (A.D. 1264-1279).

Territorial Expansion of Orissa under the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis

Kapiḷendradeva or Kapilesaradeva, the first ruler of the Gajapati dynasty

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led a successful coup against the last Gaṅga ruler Bhānudeva IV and acceded to the throne of Orissa in A.D. 1434. From this date the rulers of Orissa again followed the policy of territorial expansion and imperialism. He led his first invasion towards A.D. 1443-44 against the Reḍḍis of Rājahmahendri. The armies of Orissa conquered the Kōrukōṇḍā territory of Visakhapatnam district. But the army of the Reḍḍis successfully drove them back to their former position as known from the Draksaraman inscription, dated *Śaka* 1366[13]. However, Kapiḷesvaradeva once again made an attempt in A.D. 1448 and conquered the kingdom of Rājahmahendri under the commandership of Raghudeva Narendra and Hamira[14].

The next expedition of Kapiḷendradeva was towards Bengal. An Inscription[15] (*c.* A.D. 1450) in the Jagannātha temple refers to the victory of Kapileśvara over Mallika Parisa (Malik Padshah), the Sultan of Gour and for the first time in this inscription he assumed the title of *Gauḍeśvara.*

Sometimes between A.D. 1453 and A.D. 1454, Kapiḷendradeva crossed the river Krishna and annexed Kondavidu. The Kondavidu plates of Gaṇadeva[16], dated *Śaka* 1377, state that Gaṇadeva was appointed as the viceroy of the Kondavidu kingdom.

The Veligalani plates of Kapiḷeśvaradeva[17], dated A.D. 1458, mention the title *Navakōṭi Karnāṭa Kaḷavargeśvara* for Kapiḷeśvaradeva. When the Bahamani Sultan Humayun Shah invaded Valamās in A.D. 1457, the Velamā chief Liṅgamānedu appealed to Kapiḷeśvaradeva for help. Kapiḷeśvara took this opportunity and jointly the armies of Orissa and Velamas defeated the Bahamanis. Perhaps, this defeat of Bahamanis and occupation of Devarakōṇḍā, made Kapiḷeśvaradeva to decorate himself with the title *Kaḷavargeśvara.*

The Orissan army then led by Hambira and Raghudeva proceeded further and captured Warangal, the chief fort of the Bahamanis in Telingana. Two inscriptions[18] of Hambiradeva and Raghudeva Narendra, dated A.D. 1460, refer to the capture of the fort.

In A.D. 1461, Kapiḷeśvara invaded Bahamani capital Bidar taking advantage of the accession of minor king Nizam Shah. But he had to retreat due to the invasion of Husain Sharqui, the Sultan of Jaunpur. Subsequently Kapileśvaradeva and his son Hambiradeva invaded Vijayanagara and conquered Udayagiri and Chandragiri of Vijayanagar empire and proceeded further upto Rameśvaram in south. Two inscriptions[19] at Munnar in South Arcot district, dated A.D. 1464, reveal that Hambiradeva's son Dakṣhina Kapiḷeśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra was in-charge of a large number of areas including Chandragiri and Tiruchanapalli. Thus, by A.D. 1464, Kapileśvara acquired the territories of Telingana, Kondavidu, Udayagiri, Chandragiri and his kingdom extended from the river Hooghly in the north to Srirangam in south.

Territorial Distintegration of Orissa

With the death of Kapiḷendradeva and accession of Puruṣōttamadeva (A.D.

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1468-1497) the expansionist policy of the dynasty in Orissa ended. The successive rulers were not able to hold strongly the territories conquered by Kapiḷendradeva. The fatricidal war between Purusottamadeva and Hambiradeva for the throne of Orissa paved the way for the annexation of the entire Telingana and the coastal Andhra upto the river Krishna by the Bahamani Sultans. However, soon after the accession, Puruṣōttamadeva regained the lost territories[20].

Sāluva Narasiṁha of Vijayanagara empire conquered the territories of southern of the Godavari delta in the year A.D. 1476, which encouraged the Muslim governors at Kōṇḍāpalli and Rajahmundry to declare independence. But the prevalent chaotic condition in the Bahamani kingdom after the demise of Muhammed Shah, gave an opportunity to Puruṣōttama for a military expedition and consequently he won back the territories from Rājahmahendri to Kōṇḍāviḍu including the fort of Udayagiri.

Pratāprudradeva (A.D. 1497-1538), the last Gajapati ruler had to face a difficult time from the Vijayanagar empire. He invaded Vijayanagar empire in A.D. 1500 but the general Narasa Nayak of Vijayanagara empire successfully repulsed the Gajapati invasion. As a result, Pratāprudradeva diverted his attention towards Telingana and occupied the forts of Warrangle and Khammammet.

Once again, Pratāprudradeva taking advantage of the internal troubles attacked Vijayanagar empire. But he had to return suddenly to Orissa as Ala-ud-din Abul Muzaffar Hussain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal attacked Orissa, leaving a part of his army in south. He defeated Hussain Shah of Bengal but his army in the south sustained a defeat.

In A.D. 1512, Krishṇadevarāya, the Vijayanagara emperor led a campaign against Orissa and conquered Udayagiri, Kōṇḍāviḍu, Kōṇḍāpalli and the territories upto Simhādri. The Orissan forces could not stand against the Vijayanagara army. At last Pratāprudra made peace with the Vijayanagara empire and as a result Krishṇadevarāya gave back all the territories north of the Krishna making it the frontier of the two kingdoms.

After the death of Pratāprudradeva, Gōvindavidyādhara the treacherous minister usurped the throne of Orissa in A.D. 1541-42. Soon after his accession Jamshed Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda invaded southern Orissa in 1546. Govindavidyadhara had to rush towards the south but had to return back due to the rebellion of Raghubhañja in Orissa. This provided a golden opportunity for the Muslim rulers to occupy the south of the Simhachalam. From this period onwards, these political units were cut off from Orissa for all time to come.

The succeeding period marks a period of confusion and chaos in the history of Orissa. Chakrapratāp, the next ruler came to the throne in 1549 and was murdered by his son Narasiṁha Jenā in 1557. But soon he was also assassinated in a coup by Mukunda Harichandana, the Governor of Kaṭaka. Then a chaotic civil war took place between Mukundadeva and Prince Raghurām for the throne of Orissa and at last Mukundadeva came out victorious in A.D. 1559. In his

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reign period Orissa was conquered by the Turko-Afghans in 1568 and later by the Mughal army under Man Singh, the general of Akbar in A.D. 1592.

Geographical Features

The coastal plains stretching from the river Hooghly in the north to the Godavari in the south constituted the main geographical feature of the then Orissa. They are narrow in the north, widest in the middle and broad in the south. The coastal plains are the gift of seven major rivers which from north to south are the Kansai (*Kansāvati*), the Suvarnarekha, the Burabalanga, the Vaitarani, the Brahmani, the Mahanadi and the Rushinulya. Besides the coastal plains, there are also the mountainous regions which constituted a sizeable part of Orissa.

The inscriptions provide valuable geographical material for the period. A survey of the geographical evidences from the inscriptions shows that the Gaṅgas and Gajapatis confined their main activities in the coastal plains of Orissa. Their copper plate grants and temple inscriptions are mainly found in the coastal region, especially in the modern districts of Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam and Srikanulam, Visakhapatnam of Andhra Pradesh. Not a single copper plate of the Gaṅgas is found in Western Orissa which was in the preceding period (10th century A.D.) a stronghold of the Sōmavaṁśīs and the Kāḷachūris. The Khaı ıveśvarī temple inscription[21] of the time of Bhānudeva (A.D. 1264-1279) only ıforms us that the Sonepur portion was ruled by a Gaṅga governor.

The natural geography of western Orissa, identified as the South Kosala region[22], may be grouped into two divisions : (1) River valleys and the (2) hill tracts. A close study of the Sōmavaṁśī inscriptions reveal that civilization of this region flourished mainly on the banks of the rivers Mahanadi and Tel. The rivers Mahanadi and Tel have been repeatedly mentioned in the Sōmavaṁśī copper plates[23].

Administrative Divisions

The area ruled by the Gaṅgas was territorially organised into several political units which may be called administrative divisions corresponding to some definite geographical regions. From the early Gaṅga charters, it is learnt that the early Gaṅgas divided their kingdom in a descending order of their area, i.e., *viṣayas*, *bhōgas*, *panchāḷis* and *grāmas*. In their copper plate grants we come across numerous names such as, *viṣayas*, *panchāḷis* and *bhōgas*[24].

From a survey of the inscriptions of the later Gaṅgas it seems that upto the reign of Bhānudeva I, they were administering these old administrative divisions with very minor changes[25]. When Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅgadeva built an empire extending from the Godavari to the Ganges, he appears to have divided the newly acquired territory into a number of *viṣayas*, similar to the

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territorial divisions devised in Kaliṅga. The inscriptions mention the names of the *viṣayas*. These are as follows:

Viṣaya	*Present location*	*Reference*
Antarudra	In Puri district	*EI*, XXXI, pp. 95 ff.
Kālambōrā	Round the present village of Urisa	*EI*, XXX, pp. 29-32
Kuḍḍiṇḍa	Round the village Nagari in Cuttack district	*EI*, XXVIII, p. 246
Kōntārāveṅga	Kotarahanga Pargana in Puri district	*EI*, XXX, p. 235
Rāvaṅga	Rahanga Pragana in Puri district	*EI*, XXIX, p. 107
Rāmaṅga	Area covering village Algum in Puri district	*EI*, XXIX, p. 45
Sāilō	Sailo Pragana in Puri district	*EI*, XXXI, p. 250
Saivirā	Somewhere in between Cuttack & Bhubaneswar	*EI*, XXXI, p. 18
Erāḍa	Parts of taluks of Vijayanagaram	*JAHRS*, I, p. 45
Velapura	Chipurupalli in Visakhapatnam district	*EI*, IV, p. 185
Gōrāsāṭṭa	Parts of Parlakimidi taluk to the east of Vamsadhara	*EI*, XI, p. 148
Kulavartanī	Parts of Parlakimidi taluk	*SII*, V, no. 1290
Kaliṅga	The region round Simhachalam and parts of Visakhapatnam taluks	*SII*, V, nos. 719, 720
Varāhavartanī	Parts of Srikakulam Tekkali and Parlakimidi taluks	*EI*, IV, p. 185
Rupavartanī	Part of Tekkali taluk to the north of Varahavartani	*JAHRS*, VIII, pp. 163-91
Sāmava	The region between Bobbili and Chipurupalli taluks	*IA*, XVIII, pp. 165-72
Puṣkaranī	—	*JAHRS*, VIII, pp. 163-91
Rāāṅga	Modern Jaipur Subdivision in Cuttack district	*EI*, XXIX, pp. 105-108
Madankhaṇḍa	Somewhere in Puri district	*EI*, XXVIII, pp. 302-12
Sōṅgadā	—	*EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95
Kusumamaṇḍala	—	*ibid*
Remuṇā	Remuna in Balasore district	*ibid*
Vamsōchaurā	Basta in Balasore district	*EI*, XXI, pp. 109-28
Kaṭivişaya	Salepur area of Cuttack district	*OHRJ*, XIV, pp. 11-24

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Western Orissa under the Gangas was ruled by a governor, is known from the Khamveśvarī temple inscription[26] of the time of Bhānudeva (A.D. 1264-1279). No evidence for new administrative divisions set up by the Gangas in this region is found. It seems that in the Ganga period the administrative units in this region were the same as those made by the Sōmavaṁśīs. The copper plates of the Sōmavaṁśīs gives us the following names[27].

Administrative units	*Location*
Lupattarā *khaṇḍa* or Lipatunga	Lepta, six miles from Bolangir
Pōṭā *viṣaya*	Poa, in Bolangir district
Oṅgataṭā *viṣaya*	Aung valley
Kōśalōḍā *viṣaya*	Kusarda, 15 miles south-west of Bargarh
Prithursa *bhūkti*	Phithoda near Padampur
Lavḍā *viṣaya*	Lebda, forty-eight miles south-west of Bolangir
Gaṇḍapati *maṇḍala*	Gandhardi close of Jagati in Boudh region
Devībhōga *viṣaya*	Degam near Terasinga

Administrative Divisions under the Gajapatis

The Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati rulers who succeeded to the throne of Orissa after the Ganga dynasty, continued with the same administrative organisation which was already in existence with some minor changes. The Andhra portion of the Orissan empire which extended upto the river Krisna required a new administrative setup. But it seems that the Gajapati emperors introduced no new territorial divisions in the Andhra country which they conquered and ruled over.

They divided their kingdom into *daṇḍapāṭas*. The term *daṇḍapāṭa* was more frequent than the *viṣaya*. The Gangas preferred more to use the term *viṣaya* for territorial division whereas the Gajapatis preferred the term *daṇḍapāṭa*. In the Gajapati inscriptions the Kaḷinga region is mentioned as Kalinga *daṇḍapāṭa*.[28]

Along with the term *daṇḍapāṭa* the Gajapatis also used in their inscriptions the old terms such as, *rājya, sthaḷa* and *sīmā* which were prevalent under the Reḍḍis and Rāyas in the Andhra territories. So the Gajapatis, while they adopted in certain parts of their territory, the system of territorial organisation of the Gangas, in the rest of the territory they left undisturbed the territorial divisions of the rulers of Andhra.[29]

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Administrative divisions in the Andhra Territory

Daṇḍapāṭa	*Present Location*	*Reference*
Kaliṅga Daṇḍapāṭa		*SII*, VI, no. 695
Kōṇḍāpalli		
Aḍḍāṅki	Munnur in South Arcot district	*AR*, nos. 51 and 92
Vinukōṇḍā		of 1919
Ammanabrōlu		Nellore district Inscriptions, I, pp. 184 ff.
Kōṇḍāviḍu		*IHQ*, XXII, p. 42
Rājyamahendraśvara Rājya		*SII*, V no. 100
Udayagiri Rājya		*ibid*
Taladāṅki Sthaḷa		*EI*, XXVIII, pp. 205 ff.
Pākanaṭi Sīmā		*ibid.*

The Villages

The *viṣayas* were composed of a number of villages. They were only the political units, where as the villages were political as well as economic units. Some ideas about the settlement pattern of villages as economic units may be derived from the inscriptions. The details of such an inscription may be cited to bring out some relevant conclusions. The Kenduli copper plate[30] of Narasimhadeva IV, dated A.D. 1384, describes the reorganisation of a village with its new boundaries. The village was renamed as Vijaya Narasiṁhapura located in the northern part of Kālōmbōrā *viṣaya*. The four boudaries of this village as fixed by the *Purō-Śrīkaraṇa* are the following :

On the east:

1. The western part of the temple of Kapileśvaradeva of Maḷaya *grāma* including half of the Baḍakaṅkaḍā *daṇḍa* of the Sōlā *daṇḍa*;
2. the western half of the Sōlābhui of the village of Aṇḍāla;
3. half of the Kaṅkaḍāluṇḍā *daṇḍa* and
4. half of the Uttara *daṇḍa* of the Anāirkṣhabhui of the village of Çhuāpadi.

On the south:

1. half of the northern *daṇḍa* of the Chākuliāluḍā Biāli Oudha of the village of Bhakharasāhi;
2. half of the northern portion of the village Rāthapadā;

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3. the boundary stone fixed at the top of the channel dam near the village of Rasakhaṇḍa;
4. northern half of the river called Mali at the village of Laṅkābāda *grāma;* and
5. the stone (fixed) on the bank of the river near the village of Mahuluṇḍā as far as the village at Khandarapura.

On the west:

1. big tree standing at the corner of the *nuā-ghāi* (water course) at the front of the village of Mahuluṇḍā including half of the *Vāsata* (the village proper) and the uncultivated lands which formed the boundary line of the two villages and which were situated to the east of the village of Baṅkanā;
2. the western bank of the Khajuriā-*jōḍa* (stream) at the village of Saṅghadā (and) half of the two villages (*dōsimā*) are the *Vāsata* (village proper) of it.

On the north:

1. the western border of the village of Vyavālipura including half of the Kaṅkaḍā-*jōḍa* (stream) extending to the south of the village of Ulāṭapura *śāsana;* and
2. half of the *daṇḍa,* at the centre of the village of Alekhapadā extending as far as the embankment (*baṇḍha*) of the Rāndōi *daṇḍa* to the west of the village of Aṭṭahāsapur *śāsana.*

This shows that the villages were generally open. They were not enclosed by surrounding walls. Besides habitable areas, the area of a village comprised of cultivable, high, low, watery, dry, forest and hilly lands. Tracks or trodden paths, referred in the inscriptions as *gō-patha* and *daṇḍa,* intersected the villages. The term *sīmā* indicated the boundary line. The copper plates often describe eight boundaries of the village such as north, north-east, east, south-east, south, south-west, west and north-west. The details of boundaries also indicate that the location of the villages was not in isolation from one another; on the other hand, clusters of villages seem to have been the normal settlement pattern.

Brahmanical Settlements

From the inscriptions which constitute the main sources of information, it is possible to get a fairly adequate impression of the distribution of the brahmanical settlements in the period of present study. Some idea of this distribution may be had from the following chart:

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Village (grama)	*Viṣaya*	*Location*	*Reference*
Sattivada	Erada	Near Chicacole in Ganjam district	The copper plates of Vajrahasta, A.D. 1037 *JAHRS*, VIII, pp. 163-191.
Kropalli		East of the Sattiveda	*ibid*
Trikhali			The Copper plates of the time of Madhukammavadeva, A.D. 1024, *JAHRS*, VIII, pp. 163-191.
Padugrama			
Hondaravada			*ibid.*
Morakino			*ibid.*
Sellada	Rupavartani		The copper plates of Anantavarman Cholagangadeva, A.D. 1085, *ibid*
Virinika	Pushkarni		The copper plates of Devendravarma, A.D. 806, *ibid.*
Nejekarada	Kamtakavartani		The copper plates of Anantavarmadeva, *ibid.*
Brhadkodila	Varahavartani		The copper plates of Rajarajadeva I, A.D. 1070, *ibid.*
Harisavelli	Arasavalli		Arasavalli plates of Vajrahasta, A.D. 1060, *EI*, XXXII, pp. 311-16.
Chakivada Rengujed	Samva	Near Vizagapatam	Vizagapatam copper plate grant of Anantavarma Cholagangadeva, A.D. 1077, *IA*, XIII, pp. 161-65.
Khōnnā	Vōrāhavartani	Komi	The Komi copper plate grant of Anantavarman Cholaganga, (Set A), A.D. 1082, *JAHRS*, I, pp. 40-48, (Set B), 1113 A.D., *ibid*, pp. 106-24.
Tōnnengi		Tonagi	
Hōmbārāvālli		Omaravalli	
Khōlleru		Khoriam	
Tuluru		Tulugu	
Gāra		Gara	
Murupāka	Erāḍa		Murupaka Copper plate grant of Anantavarman Cholagangadeva, A.D. 1084, *JAHRS*, XII, pp. 7 ff.
Nāntivadāna			
Vāra			
Lōvanā			
Lemjarahā			
Śremāsraka			
Kōnāvera			
Vijayapura			
Vurumura			
Remgā			
Vimḍā			
Tāmrakhanḍi	Sāṁva		The Vazagapatam copper plate of Anantavarman Cholagangadeva, A.D. 1118-19, *IA*, XVIII, pp. 165-72.
Nirālō		Near Puri town	Puri Inscription of Cholagangadeva, A.D. 1114-15, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 181 ff.
Sumuḍā	Saminaga in (Kalingadeśa)		Vizagapatam copper plate grant of Anantavarma Cholagan-

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Village (grama)	*Viṣaya*	*Location*	*Reference*
			gadeva, A.D. 1135-36, *IA*, XVIII, pp. 172-76.
Ālagumma	Rāmaṅga	Modern Alagum in Puri district	Algum Inscription of Anantavarman, A.D. 1140-41, *EI*, XXIX, pp. 44 ff.
Khellāṇḍeśvara		Khilor	Khilor Inscription of Anantavarman, A.D. 1153, *EI*, XXXV, pp. 115-20
Uchisamāgrāma	Kōnthārāṅga	Near Bhubaneswar	Bhubaneswar Inscription of Bhimadeva, A.D. 1230, [illegible], XXX, pp. 232-36
Tighiriā	Kōṭārāvaṅga	Modern Tigiria in Puri district	The Orissa Museum plates of Aniyakabhima (III), A.D. 1211-38, *OHRJ*, XII, pp. 164-196.
Āmbilō	Rāvaṅga	Near Puri	
Gaṅgeśvara		Gangua near Sisupalgarh	
Kapileśvara		Present Kapilesvara near Bhubaneswar	
Puruṣhōttamakṣhetra		Puri town	
Abhinavavāraṇārsīkaṭak	Sāilō	Cuttack town	Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, A.D. 1211-38, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
Sāilō			
Puruṇāgrāma			
Jayanagaragrāma			
Vilāsapura	Kuddina		
Citrā	Kālambōrā		Lingaraja Temple inscription of Narasimha I (c. A.D. 1238-1265), *IHQ*, XXXI, pp. 81-84.
Gadisōgōpa			
Remuṇākaṭaka	Kālambōrā	Remuna	Alalpur plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
Yanvachapaṭi		—	
Urisō		Urisa	
Śrirāmapuraśāsana		—	
Kharlā	Sāilō	—	
Kuraṁgā		Kurang	
Harōntā		Harianta	
Chhātōlā		Chhatol	
Khaṇḍhaḷa		Khandol	
Gōlāḍālō		—	
Raḍgaḷapura		--	
Rasidgrāma	Sāvirā	—	Alalpur plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
Āllalpur		Alalpur	
Paṅgapāla		Pangapala	
Vōhalā	Sōṅgaḍā		
Bhānana			Kendupatana plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, and A.D. 1295, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95.
Jōmaramā			
Āndilō			
Gadhāi	Kusumamaṇḍala		
Maṅgaḷapura			
Devapura			
Saṅgōḍāpaḍā			
Khaḍiṅgā			
Nācrōā			

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Village (grama)	Viṣaya	Location	Reference
Ghadāi			
Bhāṁpapadā			
Siṁhadāmaṇḍōi	Remuṇā	Present Remuna in	
Tantiōḍā		Balasore district	
Vansōdā	Vansōchaurā	Basta in Balasore dis-	Asanakhali plates of Narasimha
Gangeśvarapura		trict	II, A.D. 1302, *EI*, XXXI, pp.
Kumārapura			109-28.
Puruṣhottamakaṭaka	Kōntārāvaṅga	Puri town	Puri copper plate Inscription of
Sōmnathapadā			Gangabhanu II, A.D. 1312,
Paṅgapadā			*JASB*, XVII, pp. 19-26.
Sugalapura			
Akurva	Rāvaṅga		
Mundiḍagrāma			
Bhīmarājaśāsana			
Mahāvalapadā			
Hariśaṅkarapura-śāsana			
Āradaṅgā	Kaṭiviṣaya	Adhanga	Kaijang plates of Bhanudeva III, A.D. 1362, *OHRJ*, XIV, nos. 3-4, pp. 11-24.
Pātapadā		Pitapoda in Salepur	Kaijang plates of Bhanudeva
Emārigrāma		Amuria patana	III, A.D. 1362, *OHRJ*, XIV,
Tulasīgrāma			nos. 3-4, pp. 11-24.
Keśarīpuragrāma		Krishanagar	
Tayōrāḍagrāma		Taradapada	
Nārāyaṇapura			
Bhāinagarī			
Bhilli		Bhillingagrama on the borders of Cuttack and Puri district	
Kinnāri	Kālambōrā		
Rāutapadā			The Kenduli copper plate grant
Maḷayagrāma			of Narasimhadeva IV, A.D.
Andāḷa			1384, *OHRJ*, V, pp. 1-80.
Chhapadi			
Rāthapadā			
Rasakhaṇḍa			
Lankābāda			
Mahāluṇḍā			
Khandarapur			
Bāṅkana			The Kenduli copper plate grant
Sanghadā			of Narasimhadeva IV, A.D.
Rāççha			1384, *OHRJ*, V, pp. 1-80.
Vyavālipura			
Ulāṭpuraśāsana			
Alekhapadā			
Aṭṭshāsapuraśāsana			
Vijayanarasiṁhapura			
Bhaimgrāma	Rāāṅga	Near village Siddhesvara in Jajpur	Siddhesvara Inscription of Narasimha IV, A.D. 1394, *EI* XXIX, pp. 105-108.
ōdāmvōlō	Madankhaṇḍa		Puri plates (Set B) of Gaṅga

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Village (grama)	*Vişaya*	*Location*	*Reference*
Madsnakhanda			Narasimha IV, A.D. 1395, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 302-12.
Sāisō			
Dakṣhina Rāḍasō			
Nārāyaṇapura			
Bhagavatīpura			
Vaṅgarisō			
Gōpināthapura			
Vijayalakṣhmīpura-sāsana			
Caduluvāḍapur			Cintapallipada Inscription of Gaṇadeva, A.D. 1454, *IHQ*, XXII (1946), pp. 42-46.
Veliki		Near present Chiruvoli	Two Grants of Raghudeva, A.D. 1456, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 1-18.
Dōrāpālem		Dorachintalapalem in Chodavaram division of West Godavari district	*ibid*, pp. 19-22.
Chāvali		In Kistna district of Andhra Pradesh	A copper plate grant of Kondavidu, A.D. 1457, IA, XX, pp. 390-93.
Veligālāni		Modern Meduru in Godavari taluk of Kistna district	Veligalani Grant of Kapilesvara, A.D. 1458, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 275-291.
Kapilesvarapura		—do—	*ibid*.
Jagesvārapura			*ibid*.
Vellamāmbapura			*ibid*.
Chiruvrōli (Renamed Raghudevapura)		Modern Godavaripuram, about 14 miles to the north-west of Rajahmundry	Chiruvroli Grant of Hambira, A.D. 1461, *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 177-88.
Pōṭāvaram			Potavaram Grant of Pratap Purushottama, A.D. 1489, *EI*, XIII, pp. 155-58.
Velicherlā	Puka-nāḍu		Vedicherla Grant of Prataprudra Gajapati, A.D. 1511, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 205-11.

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The brahmanical settlements were known as *agrahāra* or *śāsana*. Even today there are numerous villages having the *śāsana* suffix in different parts of Orissa. These villages were not always inhabited by brahmana population alone. An example of this type of settlement is provided by the Kendupatana plates (Set III)[31] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1295, which record grant of two plots of land to Bhīmadevaśarman, which was given the name of Bhīmanārayaṇapura and a number of rent-paying subjects were attached to the *śāsana*. They were:

1. Kumbāra-sadhu who was the grandson of the goldsmith Nārayaṇa Sadhu of the Jayapura *haṭṭa;*
2. Gopiā who was a milkman of the Sidranaga *haṭṭa;*
3. Kālo-*śreṣṭhīn* who was the grandson of Dradāi-*śreṣṭhīn*, an oilman of the Vadatala *daṇḍa;* and
4. Devāi-*śreṣṭhīn* who was the grandson of the potter Jayadeva-śreṣṭhīn of the Sathgrāma *nāva-haṭṭa* (new market).

From the evidence so far cited regarding boundaries of donated lands and about the brahmanical settlements in particular several conclusions emerge. The brahmanical settlements were distributed mostly in the coastal plains — in Ganjam, Puri, Cuttack and Balasore districts. These areas were also the main foci of political activity of the Gaṅgas and Gajapatis. The brahmanical settlements were not set apart from the rural settlements, but they seem to have been distributed among them. The practice of attaching various groups of people to *śāsana* led to economic dependence in these settlements. Thus, the economic organization of a *śāsana* settlement may have differed from that of other settlements surrounding it.

Urban Centres

Urban centres generally represent a socio-economic organisation different from that of rural settlements; but the records, apart from providing a few names, do not furnish any details at all regarding the urban centres that existed in this period. Such centres as Puri, Bhubaneswar, Mukhalingam, Patna, Suvarṇapura and the newly established Kaṭaka Vāraṇasī may be supposed to have had a predominantly agricultural population. Such centres as Bhubaneswar might also have been purely religious centres. In absence of sufficient evidence, no one can suggest beyond these suppositions. The Gaṅga records, however, refer to one type of settlement as *nagarī* which is literal translation of urban centres. Furthermore, a close examination of informations available from the epigraphic evidences denote that the difference between them and villages was one of degree and not of kind. An example is provided by the Nagari plates[32] of Anangabhīma III, dated A.D. 1230, which describe an assigned township which

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contained four large houses of the dimension of royal residences and thirty other houses. The occupational groups present in the settlement were a perfumer (*gandhika*), a worker or dealer in conch shell (*śaṅkhika*), a splitter of wood (*paṭākara*), a goldsmith (*svarṇakara*), a brazier (*kaṁsyikah*), a seller of betel leaf (*tāmbulika*), a maker of or dealer of jaggery (*guḍika*), a florist (*mālika*), milkman (gōpāla), weaver (*tantuvāvah*), oilman (*tailika*), potter (*kumbhakāra*), fisherman (*kaivartta*), a barber (*nāpitah*), a washerman (*rajaka*) and a number of artisans (*śilpinō*). The range of occupations is large, some of them being rural in character. The context in which the township (*nagarī*) is assigned — the reference is to the grant of 20 vāṭis of cornland (śasya-bhūmi) and 10 *vāṭis* of homestead land (*vastubhūmi*) in Jayanagara *grāma* — suggest that *nagarīs* in such cases were perhaps extended villages, formed out of a cluster of several contiguous villages and thus assuming physical and consequently, economic dimensions much larger than those of an ordinary village settlement.

NOTES & REFERENCES

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3. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 169.
4. Jirjingi plates of Indravaraman, dated A.D. 537 and Ponnutur plates of Mahasamantavarman, dated A.D. 562, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 261 ff.
5. Vajrahasta II in his Andhavaram Plates, c. A.D. 500, calls himself as *Sakalakalingādhipati*, *EI*, XXXI, p. 202; the next ruler to assume this title was Vajrahasta III, A.D. 1038, *SII*, V, no. 1122.
6. *SII*, V, no. 1122.
7. *History of Orissa*, I, p. 242.
8. *EI*, IV, pp. 314 ff.
9. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95.
10. *EI*, IV, pp. 314 ff.
11. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 121 ff.
12. N.K. Sahu, "A Survey of the History of South Kosala", in *New Aspects of the History of Orissa*, I, p. 23.
13. *SII*, IV, 1375.
14. Penugonda Inscription dated *Śaka* 1370, *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, no. 11 of 1961-62.
15. *JASB*, LXII, Pt. I, pp. 92-100.
16. *IA*, XX, p. 310 ff.
17. *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 275-92.
18. *Bharati*, March 1935, pp. 426-32; *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.
19. R.D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, vol. 2, pp. 294-95.
20. R. Subrahmanyam has discussed these conquests in detail, *The Suryavamsi Gajapatis of Orissa*, pp. 79-84.
21. N.K. Sahu, "A Survey of the History of South Kosala", *op. cit.*
22. S.C. Behera, "Historical Geography of South Kosala", in N.K. Sahu, *op. cit.* pp. 24-30.
23. Lines 11-16 of the Patna Plates, *JASB*, I, pp. 8-12; *IO*, IV, nos. 190, 192.

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24. C.V.R. Rao, *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra under Later Eastern Gaṅgas and Sūryavaṁśi Gajapatis; A.D. 1038-1538*, pp. 111-14, deals with early Gaṅgas administrative units in detail.
25. *ibid.*
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28. *SII*, VI, 695.
29. C.V.R. Rao, *op. cit.* p 127.
30. *OHRJ*, V, pp. 1-80.
31. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95.
32. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.

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TWO

Land Tenure System

Pattern of Landholding

The question of land ownership in ancient India is usually discussed from the standpoint of legal texts[1], a procedure which may not have much relevance in a context in which land grants generally provide, in Orissa as elsewhere, an idea of existing rights and of new rights created through the act of granting land. The discussion in this section will as such focus on these two aspects of land holding in medieval Orissa during the Later Eastern Ganga and Suryavaṁśi Gajapati rule.

The pattern of landholding in this period under review can be studied under three categories: (i) the king as a major share-holder of land who enjoyed the supreme authority being the ruler and head of the state; (ii) traditional or the then land holders; (iii) created landholders such as, brāhmaṇas, officials and the temples.

(i) *King as the Major Holder of Land*

The king as the head of the state had the major part of land within his territory. This is confirmed by the land survey of king Anangabhīmadeva III (A.D. 1211-1238) where 39.5% of the total land surveyed was retained by him from 39.5% of the total cultivated land.[2] The fact that the king made grants to different categories of donees such as the officers and the brahmanas of land even under cultivation, establishes his supreme authority in land transactions.

(ii) *Traditional Landholders*

The existence of traditional landholders can be detected from various inscriptional references. Sometimes the boundaries of land granted included lands belonging to individuals. The Asanakhali plates[3] of Narasiṁha II, dated A.D.

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1302, record the grant of five plots of land belonging to as many as seven private persons namely, Vidāi, Ravi, Gōvindakara, Kōnāi, Kitāi, Gōpāla and Champadāsa. The Chiruvroli grant[4] of Hambiradeva, dated A.D. 1461, records the grant of a village Chiruvroli to several brāhmaṇas whose boundary consisted of the lands belonging to persons; Bolā and Gopāla.

Second, there are references, though meagre, of land purchase and sale. One may not find any land sale charters in Orissa, unlike Bengal.[5] The circular or notice for the sale and purchase or grant of land do not exist in the Orissan epigraphic evidences. However, a copper plate grant[6] of an early Ganga king Hastivarman, dated A.D. 578, states that the king granted $2^1/_2$ ploughs of land to a brāhmana named, Jayaśarman as a tax free grant, which he bought from *agrāharikas*. Here evidently the king purchased as a person, a particular plot of farmed land and as a sovereign granted that plot of land as tax free to another person.

In the later period, references of sale and purchase of land by private persons for temple endowments are available. An inscription[7] assigned to 11th century A.D., found on the walls of the Lingaraj temple states that a lady Medamādevī granted a perpetual lamp in favour of the God Kṛittivāseśvara and to cover the expenses she purchased a piece of land from a merchant. But it is not known whether in sale and purchase transactions any prior approval of the king was necessary. The transactions, however, involved witnesses of prajālokas (people of the locality). Another inscription[8] (*c.* A.D. 1140-1141) at Algum records a grant made by a person named Kamaṇḍi. He is said to have purchased a *hala* of land with his own money and later on endowed in favour of the God Garttesvaradeva. The purchase is said to have been witnessed by *prajālōkas.*

Sometimes, land was also mortgaged at times of adversity. The Bhubaneswar inscription[9], assigned to A.D. 1396, from the time of Ganga Narasiṁha refers to a transaction between a debtor and a creditor, the former being a pontiff of a *maṭha* and the latter a local wealthy person. It states that formerly twelve *vaṭis* of land were donated by Narasiṁhadeva to Siddheśvara *maṭha*. But Tōparaja Mahamuni, the head of the *maṭha* mortgaged the land to Durgabhaṭṭa Achārya in lieu of 150 *māḍhas* of coin. Although this transaction occurred in the context of a *maṭha,* indicates that grant of land made to such institutions tended to acquire characteristics of personal possession over a period of time. The practice of mortgage suggests the possibility of individual land.

(iii) *Created Landholders: Brahmaṇas*

The practice of making land grants to brāhmaṇas created a new class of landholders in Orissa. This practice existed as early as 4th century A.D., when the Maṭharas ruled over Orissa. The Korasonda plates[10] of Viśākhavarman (*c.* 4th century A.D.) are the earliest, indicating such grants in Orissa. The apparent

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object of these land grants was to secure religious merit for the donors. The king used to participate in ceremonially organised land grants. The declaration of the gift was made known to the headman of the villages along with many others, such as, brāhmaṇas, reputable householders and royal officials. On some auspicious occasions and festivals such as lunar or solar eclipse, *saṁkrānti* and various sacrifices the king used to donate land to brāhmaṇas. These donations presumably had political implications. The ruler might have donated land for enlisting support of the elite section of society who was supposed to be the guardians of legal and religious system of the then Orissa.

The characteristic feature of land grants in the Gaṅga and Gajapati period is that one can not find any single grant made to the Buddhist or the Jaina establishments, although such grants were made in Bhaumakara, Śaiḷōdbhava and Somavaṁśī periods.[11] This indicates definite brāhmaṇical ascendancy and the royal affirmative patronage inherent in this process. Sometimes the king granted lands to a group of brāhmaṇas in a single village. The main purpose behind such land grants might be the establishment of brāhmaṇical pockets in villages to earn fame for the reigning monarch. The Komi copper plate[12] of Anantavarman Chōḷagaṅgadeva, dated A.D. 1082, records the grant of a village Khonnā enclosed by four boundaries, to three hundred brahmanas of several *gōtras* and devoted to six religious rites The land was given with its water and was free from taxes and other obligations to the state. Similarly, the Orissa Museum plates[13] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (*c.* A.D. 1211-1238) record the grant of $125^1/_2$ *vaṭis* of land to six groups of brahmaṇas belonging to different *gotras*. The land was given with the right to enjoy water, land, fish, tortoise and the forest. All its four boundaries were specified in the grant. The grant was made on the occasion of *sōma grahaṇa* (lunar eclipse). This inscription is one of the most important evidence to illustrate the land grants issued in Orissa which may be cited in some detail as a typical example for the composition of the donees and of lands assigned to them. The donees are:

Group - A:

1. Jagadharaśarman, grandson of Śrīdhara Śarman, great grandson of Ananta Śarman who belonged to *Bharadvaja gotra* and student of *Yajurveda* in the *Madhyaṇḍina Śakha*.

Group - B:

The brāhmaṇas who belonged to the *Bharadvaja gotra* were as follows:

1. Sūryakāntha who is a *Vajapayin* or who performed the *Vajapeya* sacrifice.
2. *Sarvjña* Anantakāntha (an astrologer)
3. *Jyōtiṣha* Kapiḷakāntha (an astrologer)
4. *Paṇḍita* Śrīdhara Paṭhi (a scholar)
5. Agamādhara Pāṭhi

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6. Siddheśvara Paṇḍita (scholar)
7. Gōvinda Pāṭhi
8. Arjuna Śarman.

Group - C:

The brāhmaṇas who belonged to the *Vātsa gōtra* were as follows:

1. *Yōtiṣha* Rudrakara (an astrologer)
2. *Yōtiṣha* Vāsudeva Pāṭhi (an astrologer)
3. Sabhāpathi
4. Bṛihaspati Pāṭhi
5. Ananta Pāṭhi
6. Udayi Pāṭhi

7-8. Two brāhmaṇas whose name are not clearly visible.

Group - D:

1. *Paṇḍita* Mṛityuñjaya Pāṭhi, a scholar of *Vātsa gōtra*
2. Pāṭhi Visveśvara of *Māṇḍavyasa gōtra.*

Group - E:

The donees who were granted houses and lands:

1. *Paṇḍita* Mṛityuñjaya
2. Mādhōloka Dharma
3. Udayakara
4. Vidyādhara
5. Madhusudana
6. Mādhava
7. Chakradhara
8. Gōvinda Hara Pāṇigrāhi
9. Paveśvara Senāpati
10. Rājā Pradhāni Vidyākara
11. Pāṭhi*
12. Sānnu Pāṭhi
13. Pura Paṇḍita
14. Veda Vaidaha

Group - F:

In the Khambāra *grama* the following brāhmaṇas were granted lands who belonged to the *Vātsa gōtra* :

Name	*Amount of land*
1. Jyōtiṣa Chandrakara Śarmā	1/2 *vāṭi*
2. Śarmā*	1/2 *vāṭi*

* Not traceable in the inscription.

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3.	Brihaspati Śarmā	1 *vāti*
4.	(P) Vara Śarmā*	1 *vāti*
5.	Guṇa Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
6.	Janārdana Śarmā	1 *vāti*

Brāhmaṇas of *Bharadvāja gotra* were:

7.	Arjuna Śarmā	2 *vātis*
8.	Kara Śarmā	5 *vātis*
9.	Śrīdhara Śarmā	2 *vātis*
10.	Dharaṇīdhara Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
11.	Gadādhara Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
12.	Sarvadhara Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
13.	Abharaṇa Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
14.	Vishṇu Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
15.	Kāmadeva Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
16.	Madhusudana Śarmā	1 *vāti*
17.	Mādhava Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*
18.	Medi Śarmā	1 *vāti*
19.	Udai Śarmā	2 *vāti*
20.	Māyādhara Śarmā	2 *vāti*
21.	Dhrukūkara Śarmā	1 *vāti*
22.	Sujai Śarmā	1 *vati*
23.	Bhānukara Śarmā	1/2 *vati*
24.	Madhu Śarmā	1/2 *vati*
25.	Ugra Śarmā	1 *vati*

Brāhmaṇas of *Māṇḍavyasa gōtra*:

26.	Viśveśvara Śarmā	1 *vāti*
27.	Rāmadeva Śarmā	3½ *vātis*
28.	Mrityuñjaya Śarmā	2 *vātis*

Brāhmaṇas of *Kāṣyapa gōtra*:

29.	Vāsudeva Śarmā	1 *vāti*
30.	Sūryakara Śarmā	1 *vāti*
31.	Nārāyaṇa Śarmā	1/2 *vāti*

Other donees:

1.	Jameśvara *maṭha*	3 *vātis*
2.	Balbhadradeva *Daṇḍapāsika*	1/2 *vāti*

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* Not traceable in the inscription.

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3.	Three Gods of village Pāṭavadāpāṭaka	8 *vāṭis*
4.	Tulanāyō, the *Śāsanādhikārin*	2 *vāṭis*
5.	*Maṭha,* where *vedas, vyākaraṇas* and *purāṇas* were taught	9 *vāṭis*
6.	Bṛhatbṛiddha *maṭha*	1 *vāṭi*
7.	*Lōkai tāmrakāra* (coppersmith)	1 *vāṭi*
8.	*Daṇḍapāsika* (village watchman)	4 *vaṭis*
9.	Tallapa, the composer of the *praśastī*	1 *vāṭi*

Such type of land grants were not only confined to the Later Eastern Gaṅga period but also were practised by the Gajapati monarchs. The Raghudevapura grant[14], dated A.D. 1456, states that Raghudeva while paying a visit to Kaṭaka met a large number of brāhmaṇas on the way and resolved to create an *agrāhara* within the territory of his governorship. The grant further records the share of land to each of 106 brāhmaṇa donees. The Garhapada grant[15] of Puruṣōttama Gajapati records the grant of Puruṣōttamapura *śāsana* consisting 1408 *vāṭis* of land. The grant of such a vast tract of land to a single brāhmaṇa seems to support the view that Garhapadā and adjacent territories at that time were inhabited and/or were sparsely populated.

(iv) *Created Landholders: Officials and Other Categories of Donees*

The most important development that took place during this period was the grant of land to individuals for the services they offered to the king. The donees of this category consisted mainly of the royal officers of various castes. It may be presumed that they got land in lieu of salary in return of their services rendered to the state.

The Alalpur plates[16] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1294, record the grant of hundred vāṭis of land as a revenue free gift together with the right to enjoy both land and water as well as fish and tortoise (*Sa-jaḷa-sthaḷa-matsya-kachhapa-sahitam-a-chandr-arkkam-akari-krītya-pradat*) to *Koṣādhyakṣa* (treasurer) Halayudha who was a brahmana of *vatsa gotra* having the *Bhārgava, Chyavana, Apnuvat, Aruya* and *Jāmadagnya pravaras* and a student of *Kanava* branch of *Yajurveda.*

There were also land grants to non-brāhmaṇa officials. The Kenduli copper plate grant[17] of Narasiṁhadeva IV, dated A.D. 1384, registers the grant of a village renamed as Vijaya-Narasiṁhapura which was yielding revenue of 900 māḍhas to *Mahāpatra* Narahari Dasa Praharāja, with the right to enjoy the land, water, fish, tortoise, tree, forest, sand and the house for enhancement of life and health of the king and for expansion of his kingdom, till the existence of the sun and moon. (*sāmrajya-samrudasya-sa-jala-sthaḷa-matsya-avasya kachhapa-pāda-paraṇva-vāluka-vitha-sahitam achandr-ārkam-akarī-kṛta-pradat*).

Some of the service grants are mentioned along with the main grants to

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brāhmaṇas. The Puri plates[18] of Gaṅga Bhānudeva II, register an additional (*aṅga*) grant of one *vāṭi* of land in favour of *Śāsanādhikārī Senādhyakṣa* Apayiśarman who was a brāhmaṇa of the *Putimāsa gōtra* and was a student of *Sakaḷa* branch of the *Ṛgveda*. The *Śāsanādhikārī* in this case got a small plot of land apparently as fee or commission for his work in connection with a particular *śāsana*. Further the plate states that the engraver of the plates Pānnadi Mahāśāsana, similarly received ten *māṇas* of land as fee. The Orissa Museum Plates[19] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (*c.* A.D. 1211-1238), also record grant of two *vāṭis* of land to *Śāsanādhikārī* Tulanāyō, one *vāṭi* to *tāmrakarā* (copper smith) Lōkāi and four *vāṭis* to *Daṇḍapāsika* (village watchman). The composer of the *praśasti* Tallapa is also said to have been granted one *vāṭi* of land..

In other grants of this type donees of the secular category included those who were specifically mentioned as kāyasthas and śūdras. The Arasavalli plates[20] of Vajrahasta III, dated A.D. 1060, refer the grant of a village to four groups of people. The village was divided into four parts and one part was given to Śiriyapa Nāyaka, Uajji Nāyaka, Guṇḍupōnā Nāyaka and Numkanā Nāyaka who were the sons of Nadupona Nāyaka of *Kāśyapa gōtra*. The title Nāyaka suggest that they were military officials. The second part of the village was divided into five units, out of which one was given to Guṇḍanā and Apetanā, sons of Māviratiadi of *śūdravaṁśa* and his wife Vittapā. The third part of the village was divided into seventeen units given to Dāmarā Nāyaka, son of kāyastha Chandu Nāyaka of *Kāśyapa gōtra*. The fourth and the last part was divided into eight units and distributed to *kāyastha* Nunkapa, Sōmanatha, Domarā and Chidana of *chaturtha vaṁśa* (Sudra-community). Here the recipients of the grants were kāyasthas and śūdras, and the record does not state whether the gift was free from taxes. The official donees were remunerated by the land-grants. But it may not be ascertained whether these landgrants were made in lieu of money salary or as a special gift from the ruler for their merit. Landholding at that time indicated the status of an individual in the society and the royal gift as a special reward, the social prestige of both, the donee and the donor.

(v) *Created Landholders: Temples*

The growth of massive Hindu temples and religious establishments in Orissa after the decline of Buddhism and Jainism during the Gaṅga period led to the donation of land and other objects for their maintenance. A survey of the temple inscriptions show that a dozen or more refer to gift of plots of land and villages.

Though endowments to temples started from the Sōmavaṁśī period more consolidated evidence of such endowments is available from the period of the Imperial Gaṅgas who succeeded the Sōmavaṁsīs. It appears that from the Gaṅga period to the advent of the Muslims, donations to different temples were made more liberally than in the preceding period.

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Donation of land to the temples was made mainly by the royal family, ministers, merchants and officers. The main purpose behind the donation to temples, as it is stated in the grants, was to attain religious merit and to absolve the donor from the worldly sins. Sometimes kings donated land to the temple making the priest the trust agent of the donated land. The Puri plates[21] of Gaṅga Narasiṁha IV, dated A.D. 1394, record the grant of three villages of which the *Jīta* (income) was 449 māḍhas, to brāhmaṇa Devarathāchārya, the priest of the temple Ugreśvaradeva together with water, land, fish, tortoise, tree and forest and with the temple of Ugreśvaradeva and the land around it. The Vizagapatnam copper plate[22] of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva, dated A.D. 1077, registers the grant of a village to God Rājarājeśvara for the purpose of performing the oblation of ghee, worship and festivals of the God.

Perhaps the grants to the temples were revenue free gifts known from the Nagari plates[23] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III. They state that the grants were permanent revenue free gifts for the favour of God Purușōttama (*Śrī Purușottamasya-pritaye-dhārā-Purvyakam-ā-chandr-ārkkam-upobhōgay-ākarikrītye-pradat*). The Potavaram grant[24] of Pratāpadeva, dated A.D. 1482, records the grant of the village Pōtavaram to God Liṅgōdbhava Mahādeva for the purpose of the personal enjoyment, stage entertainment and the splendour satisfaction of the god.

The practice of donating lands to the temple servants for the services rendered to the deity was prevalent in Orissa as it is found in medieval south Indian temples.[25] The Murupaka grant[26] of Chōḍagaṅgadeva, dated 1084 A.D., records the grant of a village to five persons for rendering services like worshipping, dancing, singing and beating drums for the deity Narendraśvaradeva and for undertaking occasional repair work of the temple.

Besides the king and the royal family, the officers and the private individuals also donated plots of land to the temples. An inscription[27] on the Liṅgarāja temple assigned to the A.D. 1239, records the grant of five *vāṭis* of land by a Gaṅga general Gōvinda Senāpati. The land was granted for making provisions for sweeping the *maṇḍapa* thrice a day, washing its walls once a year and repairing the roof once in every twelve years. But it is not known whether these lands were tax free. Perhaps these lands were enjoyed by the servants in lieu of their services to the temple but they had to pay taxes to the king.

Administration of Land

(i) *Revenue Officials*

The records of medieval Orissa speak very little of land administration. They provide only the titles of few revenue officials. The Kenduli copper plate grant[28] of Narasiṁhadeva IV, dated A.D. 1384, refers to an officer named *Puro-Śrīkaraṇa,* who fixed the boundaries of the donated village. The Puri plates[29] of the same king, dated A.D. 1395, record the grant of a land which was settled

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before *Purō Śrīkaraṇa* Viśanātha Mahāsenāpati. Perhaps, here too the *Purō Śrīkaraṇa* was in charge of the fixation of the boundaries of lands. There was another official called *Śāsanādhikārī* mentioned on the grant as receiving a share of land granted. A.P. Sah[30] is of opinion that this official used to communicate the royal grant of land. Perhaps, he was entrusted with administrative responsibility over *śāsana* gifts. There was another revenue officer called *Śrīkaraṇa Paṭṭanāyaka* is known from the Sidhesvara inscription[31] of Narasiṁhadeva IV, dated A.D. 1394. He was the chief officer in-charge of the land record department. *Kōṣṭhākaraṇa* was another revenue official known from the same inscription. The revenue administration was under one minister styled as *Mahāpātra* but it is not known what exactly were the duties of a *Mahāpātra*.

Māji appears to be another revenue official in-charge of villages or of a particular region. The earliest mention of the official designation, *Māji* may be traced to an inscription[32] from Simhachalam, dated A.D. 1281, in the time of Narasiṁhadeva II. C. V. Ramchandra Rao[33] thinks that the official was responsible for the revenue collections of village and towns. The revenue may have included land revenue also. However, mainly the inscriptions of South Orissa and Andhra portions of Orissa refer to *Māji* and suggest that they were mainly confined to the Andhra portions of Orissa.

(ii) *Different Types of Land Tax*

The Later Eastern Gaṅga and Gajapati records speak very little of the methods of assessment and tax collection. The Velicherla plates[34] of Pratāprudradeva refer to thirty six kinds of taxes (*Saṭṁsatavedana*). But, the details of these taxes are not known as yet. However, land revenue was the main source of income of the empire. The grants contain revenue terms such as *bhoga-bhāga-kara*[35] and *kara*[36] which continued from the early Gaṅga and Sōmavaṁśī periods. The term *bhāga* indicates the enjoyment of the shares of the produce and its equivalent may be *sañjā*[37], found on the Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata*. D.C. Sircar[38] interprets *bhaga* as the king's share of the produce while *bhoga* he states, as the periodical supplies to the king's household of the usufract of the soil. Another tax *kara* mentioned on the inscriptions, to which Shamsastri[39] interprets as a tax on money as well as revenue paid by the feudatory princes. But, the epigraphic evidences indicate it as a land tax in general equivalent to *saravakara*.[40] *Abhinavayāmu*[41] was another kind of land tax. According to C.V.R. Rao[42] it refers to taxable income that may account in future due to the improvement on the land. But, this tax was not widely prevalent in Orissa.

The inscriptions give an idea about the quantum of revenue derived from some villages. The Kenduli copper plate grant[43] of Narasiṁhadeva IV, dated A.D. 1384, refers to a village Vijaya Narasiṁhapura yielding an annual revenue of 900 *māḍhas*. This suggests that the revenue was assessed in cash, although the actual payment might have been made in kind. Sarala Dasa[44] has referred

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to the land revenue in kind as four *pauṭis* of paddy per one *vāṭi* of land. H.K. Mahatab[45] stated without any corroborative evidence that the land revenue was collected on the rate of 1/6th of the gross produce.

From the Puri plates[46] of Narasimhadeva IV, the exact amount of land revenue per *vāṭi* is known at least for some regions. It records the grant of three plots of land consisting of 100 *vāṭis* yielding an annual revenue of 449 *māḍhas.* So it may be deduced that the annual amount of land revenue per *vāṭi* was 4.49 *māḍhas.*

(iii) *Land Survey*

As the revenue from land was the main source of state-income, it may be assumed that land was surveyed and assessed for proper and regular realisation of land revenue by the Gaṅgas. For the first time in the history of Orissa, as it is known from the temple chronicle *Mādaḷā Pāñji*[47], a large scale land survey was undertaken by Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, (A.D. 1211-1238). The entire country from the Gaṅga to the Godavari and from the Bay of Bengal to the frontier of Sonepur was measured with the help of the measuring rod called *naḷa.* Two revenue officers Dāmōdara Barapaṇḍā and Iśwara Chandra Paṭṭanāyaka were the officers in-charge of the settlement.

Types of land	*Total area*
Lands excluded from assessment which were occupied by sites of hills, nullahs, towns and waste land	14,80,000 *vaṭis*
Assessed land reserved for the personal use of the king	24,30,000 *vāṭis*
Lands assigned to officials, brāhmaṇas and temples	23,18,000 *vāṭis*
Total area measured	62,28,000 *vāṭis*

This shows that the king retained the major share of cultivable land for his personal use, which is 39.5%. The land assigned to officials, brāhmaṇas and temples figured upto 37.08%. Lands excluded from assessment represented by sites of hill beds, nullahs, towns and waste land constituted 23.75% of the total. Although, the details regarding these different categories may not be dependable, their relative position as presented in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji,* might have been true at a given point of time during the Gaṅga rule. It suggests that less than half of the area measured was revenue paying.

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(iv) *Land Measurement*

a. *Haḷa*: The *haḷa* measurement was used in Orissa as in other areas of India, is known from the Gaṅga inscriptions. B. P. Mazumdar[48] has wrongly stated that *haḷa* measurement was unknown in eastern India. An inscription[49] of the time of Anantavarman Chōḷagaṅgadeva, dated A.D. 1140, on the walls of the temple at Algum refers to the grant of land in *haḷa* unit. There is a difference of opinion among scholars about the area of land represented by one *haḷa*. Pran Nath[50] is of the opinion that one haḷa of land is somewhere between five and six acres. P. Niyogi[51] suggests that one *haḷa* of land was equal to the area of land which could be cultivated with a single plough in one day only. But it is difficult to know the exact area that could be cultivated with one plough, because nature of the soil was of different quality in different regions and the capacity of the plough depended upon the variable nature of the soil. Second, the size of the plough and the strength of the animals may not have been the same everywhere. It may, however, be presumed that in spite of the existence of different types of ploughs in different localities, *haḷa* might have been used as a unit of measurement. As references to *haḷa* in the period of present studies appear to be scanty, it may be presumed that it was no longer much in use.

b. *Naḷa*: *Naḷa* was another unit of measurement. It was a rod used for measuring land is known from the Alalpur plates[52] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1294. The Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhimadeva used this rod for the land survey that was supposed to have been undertaken in his period.[53] C. M. Acharya[54] is of the opinion that the *naḷa* measured 10' 8". R.N. Saletore[55] has equated one *naḷa* with 72 inches. The length of the *naḷa* differs from region to region in Orissa at present. In Puri district one *naḷa* is equal to three cubits whereas in Cuttack district it is equal to six cubits. But the measurement of the whole country with *naḷa* as known from *Mādalā Pāñji*[56] leads one to presume that the Gaṅgas had developed a uniform length for the *naḷa*.

c. *Kōḷa*: *Kōḷa* as a general term relating to land measurement is known from the Niḷeśvara temple[57] and Niḷakantheśvara temple inscriptions[58] assigned to the 11th century A.D. There were also other *kōḷa* land measures like *Jina-kōḷa, Aniyaṅkabhima kōḷa* and *Gōla kōḷa* known from the inscriptions.[59] Payments to the officers who were in-charge of villages were given in the *kōḷa* measurement[60]. An officer who was in-charge of 10 villages received one *kōḷa* of land and an officer in-charge of 100 villages 100 *kōḷas* of land or one village.[61] So it may be presumed that the average area of a village was roughly equivalent to 100 *kōḷas* of land. At present it is very difficult to know the actual area represented by a *kōḷa*.

d. *Vāṭi, Māṇa, Gunṭha*: These units of measurements are prevalent in Orissa even today. According to the Alalpur copper plate grant[62] of Narasimhadeva II, a *vāṭi* of land in Orissa was equal to 20 *māṇas* and one *māṇa* was equal

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to 25 *gunthas*. Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābhārata*[63] also mentioned this system of measurement. A *guntha* measuring 121 square yards or the 1/14th part of an acre is in some places regarded as equivalent to sixteen *viśwās*, while a *viśwā* is said to be 1/20th of *bighā*. This seems to suggest that a *vāṭi* is sometimes regarded as equal to $12^1/_2$ acres of land. It seems that the area of *vāṭi* varied in different parts of Orissa and there may have also been differences between areas of *vāṭi* of the present day and that was recognised by the Gaṅga kings of Orissa in the 13th century A.D. This is possibly suggested by the fact that the *Pramoda Abhidhana* regards a *māṇa* as equal to one acre of land and a *vāṭi* as equal to 20 acres.[64]

e. *Puṭṭi*: *Puṭṭi* was also another unit of measurement prevalent in the Gaṅga period. A Mukhalingam stone inscription[65], dated A.D. 1058, of the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III refers to a donation of five *puṭṭis* of land for the supply of castor oil to a temple. According to H. K. Mahatab[66] a *puṭṭi* is equal to eight acres.

(v) *Demarcation of Boundaries of Land*

One of the interesting characteristics of the Orissan inscriptions is that almost every land grant mentions the specific boundaries of each plot of land. The boundaries were fixed by an officer whose title was *Śrikaraṇa*.[67] Generally physical landmarks of the locality such as roads, canals, fields, hills, trees, dams, streams, rivers and temples were taken as boundary marks. Boundary stones were also fixed to demarcate the land. The Chiruvroli grant[68] of Hambiradeva, dated A.D. 1461, refers to a village whose boundaries were marked by stones. Sometimes *Nāyakas* were entrusted with the task of demarcating particular plots of land as representatives of the *Śrīkaraṇa*. An example of how boundaries were specified is provided by the Puri plates[69] of Gaṅga Narasiṁha IV, dated A.D. 1395. They state that the boundaries of the first plot of land was determined by Thamathi Nāyaka who was the *padihasta* (representative) of *Purō-Śrīkaraṇa* Viśvanātha Mahāsenāpati. Its eastern boundary bordered on the road to Chandraprabhā lying to west of the *śāsana* of Bhagavatipura and ran upto the hijala tree near the tank of Pōḍapōḍā to the east of Vaṅgarisōgrāma. The northern boundary bordered on the road to the north of the house of Chiḍichiḍi lying to the south of Vaṅgarisōgrāma and on the three pronged cattle track extended to the house of the brāhmaṇas and the waters of the river Vaigani. The western boundary began with the waters of the Vaigani river to the east of Rādasōgrāma and ended with the cattle track going to Kuchiagai to the south of *āmvaṭōṭa* (mango grove) on the river bank of Gōpināthapura. The southern boundary began with Haragau to the north of Gōpināthapura and ran upto the northern bank of the river and to the three pronged cattle tracks reaching upto the *śasanas* of Bhagavatipura and Gōpināthapura.

Emergence of the Intermediary Class in the Agrarian Economy

The land grants to civil and military officials and above all to the brāhmaṇas

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might have led to the emergence of an intermediary class in the agrarian society. In the land grants of Bhaumakara, Śailōdbhava and Sōmavaṁśī rulers, the villagers were asked by their rulers not only to pay the customary duties to the donees but also to obey their commands. Here the donees were empowered to collect taxes[70]. But in the later Gaṅga and Gajapati grants the villagers were not asked by the donors to pay duties to the donees. However, these grants were exempted of all taxes (*sarva-kara-parihāra*) and were given the right of the individual over the cultivable lands including the ponds and trees and other animate and inanimate beings.[71] All the grants were not exempted from taxes. In some of the service grants the usual term *sarvakara-parihāra* is not mentioned.[72] It is also mentioned, the amount of revenue realised from a village, to be granted[73]. But it is not known clearly whether the donee had to pay the mentioned revenue to the donor. All these conditions of the grants show that the Gaṅga and Gajapati rulers donated land with united rights and they might have exercised an effective control over the intermediaries.

The Gaṅga and Gajapati empire also included feudatory states and the rulers of these states might have had preferred to pay imperial dues in military service and equipments. Anantavarman Chōḷagaṅgadeva used the title *navanavati-sahasra-kuñjārādhīśvara*[74] (lord of ninety nine thousand elephants), obviously an exaggerated figure might have included the donations made by the vassal princes under him. This shows the increase in the number of feudatories which synchronised with the royal grant of land to officers for merit and services rendered to the sovereign. The civil officers like *Śāsanādhikārī, Daṇḍapāṭapati, Viṣayapati* became hereditary landholders and the administrative units assigned to them became their hereditary fiefs during the declining days of the Gajapati dynasty. Many fiscal dues existent during the Śailōdbhava, the Bhaumakara and the Sōmavaṁśī periods could not be traced during this period while payments on produce in the shape of *bhāga* and *sañja* were increasingly in use. Thus with the expansion of the empire and complexity in the administrative machinery, the number of officials increased. The limited circulation of currency in administrative and fiscal transactions further led to the emergence of this intermediary class in the agrarian society. The brāhmaṇas, some privileged officials, temple priests constituted the backbone of this intermediary class who enjoyed royal favour and social status. It is obvious that they cultivated the lands through the *kṛṣakas* and servants of their household.

The intermediary class of landlords were not invariably free from the state control in the Gaṅga regime. In some service grants the donees were even asked to pay the revenue.[75] But when the Gajapati rulers ascended the throne of Orissa these landlords taking advantage of the invasions of the Muslims and the Vijayanagar empire, revolted against the Gajapati rulers for their independence. Kapiḷendradeva the first Gajapati ruler after his accession, threw a warning to these landlords.

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"Oh, Jagannātha! Thus prayeth thy servant throughout the kingdom. I maintained from childhood these (feudal) lords and gave them wealth. All of them have forsaken me. I shall deal with them (and) punish them each according to his desert. Oh Lord Jagannātha ! Do thou judge . . . whether I am right or wrong."[76]

Further in the year A.D. 1436, Kapiḷendradeva warned the landlords, "not to continue the path of evil conduct. If any (of them) engage in what is not beneficial to the (paramount) king he is to be banished from the kingdom and all his property confiscated"[77].

This shows that the landed intermediaries constituted a great danger to the central authority. In order to consolidate his power and position during early critical years, Kapiḷendradeva tried to win the support of the masses of the people through a considerable remission of taxes. In his Puri inscription he states, "the tax payable on salt and cowries which is due to us of our kingdom of Orissa, I have remitted . . . (He) who being a king violates this, rebels against the deity Śri Jagannātha."[78] In the next year he remitted the watchman tax which was collected from the brahmaṇas.[79] This remission of taxes, to gain popular support might have affected the kingdom's economy. These measures served as temporary safety arrangements of the empire. During the regime of Bhoi dynasty and on the eve of the Turko-Afghan invasion they were a constant danger to the state.[80]

Economic Condition of the Primary Producers

As the land grants to brāhmaṇas and officials increased, many brāhmaṇas left their functions as priests and engaged themselves in agriculture. They might have had given their lands to the tenants on share crop basis. A fixed amount of paddy possibly was their wage at the end of the harvest. Besides this, they might have engaged landless labourers for tilling their land. Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābhārata*[81] has stated that a labourer named Tapati was working in the field of Sureswara Panda as a daily labourer. He was not getting any share from the produce but only food, clothes, wage and he has no right over the land. This clearly shows the diplorable condition of the labourers. The labourers might have used the agricultural implements like ploughs and shares of the landlords for cultivation. They were the actual producers of the soil but bulk of the produce were invariably enjoyed by the landlords. The paucity of literary evidences is a great handicap to picturise the life of the agrarian labourers of the period.

However, it may be concluded that the labourers attached to the soil might have been deprived to mobility. Mainly because, in the underdeveloped agrarian society they had no option to run away from the estates of the landlord. Orissa was particularly a tribal area where labour was always available and where the process of extension of cultivation over the uncultivable plots of land continued from a long past.

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Can the Agrarian Economy be termed Feudal

It is generally contended by the historians like R. S. Sharma[82], D.D. Kosambi[83] and R. Thapar[84] that the post-Gupta period in northern India witnessed the blossoming of feudalism and Orissa as an integral part of the continent might not have escaped from being influenced by the palpable socio-economic forces of the period. D. C. Sircar[85], however, categorically rejected the concept of feudalism in India, and termed it as landlordism. B.S. Das[86] in his book on Orissa has applied the feudal concept and termed the period from ancient times to A.D. 1568 as pre-feudal economy.

A serious study on the source materials shows that the agrarian economy of Orissa cannot be termed as feudal as called by the scholars. It has been examined earlier that the people were enjoying private ownership of land. There is no evidence to show the feudal relation between the owners of land and the actual cultivators. The *kṛiṣaks* cannot in any way be termed as serfs or villeins as found in Western Europe. Moreover, there seemed to be an intimate relation between the state and the imperial deity Jagannātha.[87] The Gaṅga and the Gajapati rulers were enjoying the lands as the vicar of lord Jagannātha. Anaṅgabhimadeva III (A.D. 1211-1238) dedicated his empire to Lord Jagannātha and called himself *rāuta*.[88] From the time onwards a theocratic regime, a dual ownership over the kingdom of Orissa started. The Gajapati rulers also mentioned the proud title of *rāuta* (governorship) of Lord Jagannātha. Even during the regimes of the Mughals, the Marathas and the British, this title of the Gajapati rulers of Khurdha was never challenged.[89]

The rule of the Gaṅga and Gajapati monarchs marks the formation of a regional state in Eastern India and the political developments characterised by a gradual integration of a number of scattered fragmented areas which came under the rule of a single dynasty.[90] In the sphere of administration it makes a centralised administration rather than decentralisation. The grants of the period which were donated with limited rights did not give power to the donees to be independent of the royal authority.

This period also marks the rise of new ports and urban centres. Some traces of foreign trade and contact with South-East Asian countries can be seem which declined in the Gajapati rule.[91] Second, in case of Orissa it is difficult to say anything conclusively about the decline or rise of foreign trade which could be an element of rise of feudalism in India. But both epigraphic and literary sources point to the release of centrifugal forces in the land tenure system in terms of rise of the feudatories which sapped the foundation of centralised authorities of the monarchs of Orissa which was very much in force during the Gaṅga regime in Orissa.

Moreover, the conditions of the peasantry may not be equated with the serfs of Western Europe in the middle ages.[92] Accepting the controversy among the scholars over the existence of slavery in ancient India one is tempted to

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locate the existence of free cultivators, artisans and wage earning labourers in the medieval Orissa.

Therefore, under the situation it is difficult to agree with the view that feudalism was the main feature of the then agrarian economy. It is also not acceptable that subordinate feudatory princes were feudal fief holders of the Gaṅga and Gajapati rulers bound under a feudal hierarchical bondage as it was found in the Western Europe in the middle ages.

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THREE

Agrarian Economy

The practice of making land grants is sometimes used as an indicator needle of the expansion of cultivation.[1] It is, however, difficult to work out whether the land grants of medieval Orissa point to any such significant development. Any generalization of the type would require the preparation of a detailed agricultural map for this period which, in absence of any other evidence, is difficult to undertake. Second, the places mentioned of the grant cases are mostly unidentifiable. Nevertheless, the general impression which the distributional pattern of the land grants provide, is that agrarian operations, atleast initially, in the state, were concentrated in the coastal tracts which because of the drainage system of Orissa may be supposed to have already been largely under cultivation.

It is possible that in the beginning both settlement and agriculture followed the course of the great river system of the state which acted as a powerful fertilizing agent of the soil along its basin. The Almonda plates[2] of the early Ganga king Anantavarman (A.D. 770-801) show that to the south of a tract of land, donated to brahmanas, the Chatera river was flowing. Another inscription[3] of Devendravarman IV, mentions that to the north of the granted village was situated the Sasyotusa river. The Kenduli copper plate grant[4] of Narasimha IV, dated A.D. 1305, mentions among the boundaries of the granted village, a river called the Māḷi to its south, the bank of the Khajuria *Jōḍa* (stream) to its west, and Kankaṇḍā *Jōḍa* to its north. The Puri plates[5] of Ganga Narasimha IV, dated A.D. 1395, refer to the Vaigani and the Vārōgō rivers as the boundaries of the granted land. The Kendupatana plates[6] of Narasimhadeva II (Set III), dated A.D. 1295, record the grant of a plot of land on Simhadāmandāi in Remuṇā *viṣaya* whose northern boundary was an embankment on the river Suvarnarekha (*Sūvarṇa nadī*).

The inscriptions of the Sūryavamśī Gajapatis whose territory extended as far south as the river Krishna also mention to the grant of land and villages situated on the bank of the rivers. The Dorapalem grant[7] of Raghudeva, dated A.D. 1456, records the grant of a village Dorapalem situated on the bank of

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Kaunteva Ganga (Godavari). The Chiruvroli grant[8] of Hambiradeva, dated A.D. 1461, mentions about a grant of a village Chiruvroli, located on the bank of the river Krishna. Many such examples may be furnished to show that cultivated lands were generally located near the water sources where irrigation for agriculture was convenient.

From the land survey supposed to have been undertaken by the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva II (A.D. 1190-1198), some impression may be formed, in relative terms, of the total area under cultivation. He measured the whole country from the river Gangā (Hooghly) to the Godavari and from the sea to the frontier of Sonepur.[9] The total area is said to have consisted of 62,28,000 *vāṭis*. Among this the area which corresponded to the hills, towns and waste lands come to 14,80,000 *vāṭis*. So the remaining 47,80,000 *vāṭis* of land may be considered to have been under cultivation.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that the area under cultivation remained static throughout the medieval period. There might have been conscious efforts to expand the land area. The Asanakhali plates[10] of Narasimha II, dated A.D. 1302, record the donation of two plots of land, originally jungles which had however, been cleared before the grant was made (*kṛit-āraṇya-bhū-bhāga*). This suggests that efforts were made to bring the forest areas under plough resulting in an increase in the area of cultivation.

The expansion of cultivable land was, however, not confined to coastal areas only. In the hill tracts of Orissa forests were cleared by the tribals as cultivable land. The Buddhist *Charyāpadas*[11] refers to a *tailā* land (newly cleared jungle), agricultural production of the tribals which might represent any *adivasi* or hilly area in Orissa. The *tailā* land is still being prepared by the *ādivāsi* axe (*kurādhi*) for the plantation of their favourite crops of kangoo and cheena.

Types of Land and Fertility

The earliest references to the fertility of land in different regions of Orissa may possibly be found from the account of Yuan-Chwang. With regard to the fertility of Odra he says, "The soil in rich and fertile."[12] About Kangoda he remarks, "the ground is low and moist."[13] Kalinga, according to him was regularly cultivated and fertile.[14] Lastly about Kosala he states "the soil in rich and fertile.[15] The Portuguese traveller Durate Barbosa[16] who visited the Vijayanagar empire (A.D. 1510-1515) informs about the well tempered climate, fertile and well furnished lands in Orissa situated between the rivers.

The inscriptions of the period under review often contain expressions related to various types of land in Orissa, some of which bear upon agricultural land. In the copper plate grants, references[17] may be found to *śasya-bhūmi* (corn land), *gōhari-gōpatha* (cattle tracks), *gō-praçāra* (pasture land), *vāstu-bhūmi* (homestead land), *aṭavi* (jungles), *āraṇva* (jungles), *tāia-bhūmi* (palmyra grooves), *kedāra* (corn land), *vāluka-patita-bhūmi* (sandy waste land), *tikkara* (sand mound), *jaḷa-*

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kṣhetra (water covered land) and *niṣadhi-bhūmi* (forbidden land which may denote burial ground). Lastly, an inscription refers to a type of land called *gō-charman*, the significance of which is not known specifically.[18]

Types of Land

Land	*Areas*	*Identification of place*	*Reference*
Śasya-bhūmi (corn land)	Puruṇa *grāma* Jayanagar *grāma*	Nagari near Cuttack	Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, A.D. 1231, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-258.
Gōhari-Gōpatha (Cattle tracks)	Vōhalā *grāma* (Sōṅgadā *viṣaya*) Gōdhāi *grāma* (Kusuma-maṇḍaḷa *viṣaya*) Khadiṅgā *grāma* (do)		Kendupatana plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95.
	Vaṁṣōdā *grāma* (Vaṁsōchaurā *viṣaya*)	Basta in Balasore district	Asanakhali plates of Narasimhadeva II, A.D. 1302, *EI*, XXI, pp. 109-28.
	Vijayalakshmipura *sasana* Gopinathpura *sasana*	Puri district	Puri plates of Ganga Narasimha IV, A.D. 1395, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 302-312.
Gō-prachāra (pasture land)	Vōhalā *grāma* in Sōṅgadā *viṣaya* Godhai *grāma* in Kusumamaṇḍaḷa *viṣaya* Khadiṅgā *grāma* (do)		Kendupatana plates of Narasimhadeva II, A.D. 1294, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95.
Vastu bhūmi (homestead land)	Gaṅgeśvarapura		Asanakhali plates of Narasimha-deva II, A.D. 1302, *loc. cit.*
	Puraṇa *grāma* Jayanagara *grāma*	Village Nagari near Cuttack	Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, *loc. cit.*
Gō-Charman	*Puraṇa grāma*	Village Nagari	Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, *loc. cit.*
Niṣadhi-bhūmi (forbidden land)	Vohala *grāma*		Kendupatana plates of Narasimhadeva II, *op. cit.*
Aṭāvi (jungles)	Vōhalā *grāma*		*ibid.*
Tāḷa-vaṇa (palmyra grooves)	Vohala *grāma*		*ibid.*
Āraṇva (jungles)	Vamsōchaurā *viṣaya*	Basta in Balasore district	Asanakhali plates of Narasimha II, *op. cit.*
Vālukā-patitabhūmi (sandy waste land)	Simhādamandōi in Remuṇā *viṣaya*	Near Remuna in Balasore district	Kendupatana plates of Narasimhadeva II, *loc. cit.*
Kedāra (corn field)	— do —	— do —	*ibid.*
Tikkara (mound of sand)	— do —	— do —	*ibid.*
Jala-kṣhetra (water covered land)	Khadiṅga *grāma* in Kusumamaṇḍaḷa *viṣaya*		*ibid.*

Agricultural Products

The fertile soil and the salubrious climate of Orissa made cultivation possible of various kinds of crops. Yuan-Chwang makes the following references to the

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agriculture of Odra. "The soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated."[19] He also refers to regular harvests in Kaṅgōda and Kaḷiṅga.[20]

Of all the agricultural products rice may be presumed to have been the principal food crop. In an earlier period Kalidasa[21] mentions that Magadha and the low lying plains of Vanga and the southern plateau which may have included Orissa produced sufficient paddy. The *Mānasōllasā*[22] speaks very highly of the quality of rice produced in Kaḷiṅga. Wang-Ta-Yuan[23], a Chinese writer of 14th century states that rice which was the staple food of the people and was sold at the unbelievably low price of forty-six baskets a cowrie, which suggests that rice was produced abundantly in Orissa. Sarala Dasa[24] in his *Mahābhārata* (15th century A.D.) has also referred to the production of rice in Orissa. People were paying paddy as *sañjā* (land tax) to the king. *Rudrasudhānidhi*[25] of Narayana Abhutaśvāmi (13th century A.D.) also mentions to the production of rice in Orissa.

Besides rice, barley, wheat and sugarcane were also produced in Orissa. The Nagari plates[26] of Anangabhimadeva III, dated A.D. 1231, refer to a plot of land covered under *yava* (barley), *gō-dhuma* (wheat) and *ikṣhu* (sugarcane).

Among the commercial crops, cotton sugarcane and oil seeds like tila or seasamum, mustard and castor were grown. Cotton of very high quality was produced in Orissa.[27] *Mādaḷā Pāñji*[28], the temple chronicle mentions about the cotton and cotton wheel which proves the production of cotton in Orissa. Besides, the Buddhist *Charvāpadas*[29] (c. 9th century - 12th century A.D.) also refer to the cotton production of Orissa. References[30] to the *guḍika* (manufacturer of jaggery) and *telin* (oilman) in the *haṭṭas* (markets) also prove the production of sugar and oil in Orissa. In the *Virāṭa Parva*, Sarala Dasa has given some stray references to the use of mustard for making oil.[31] The Mukhalingam stone inscription[32] of the Ganga King Vajrahasta III, dated A.D. 1058, refers to the gift of land for the supply of castor oil to the deity which supports the view that castor was produced for the purpose of making oil.

Betel leaf and betel nut were also grown in the coastal region of Orissa. These were important articles of temple offerings. An inscription[33] on the Liṅgarāj temple of the 11th century A.D. mentions that *tāmbuḷa* was daily offered to the god Kṛittivāsa. There were also betel leaf sellers in the *haṭṭas.*[34] Earlier evidences to the plantation of betel leaf and betel nut are found in the writings of Kalidas. He says, in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, that the army of Raghu after defeating the king of Kaḷiṅga drank the cocoanut juice on betel leaves, and they proceeded towards the south along the coast which was full of betel nut plants[35]. The *Rājataraṅgini*[36] of Kalhaṇa states that the foreign traders who sold betel leaves in Kashmir came from south which may have included Orissa. The Oriya literature like *Mahābhārata* of Sarala Dasa[37] and *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa*[38] of Balarama Dasa frequently refers to the use of betel leaves and betel nuts.

Fruits were also produced in plenty in Orissa. At an early period Yuan-

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Chwang[39] has stated that different varieties of fruits grew in Orissa. The *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shahī*[40] of Shāms-i-Sirāj states about the people of Jājnagar (Orissa), that the inhabitants had spacious houses and fine gardens. Within their houses fruit trees and flowers were grown. Inscriptions too provide information about the various types of fruits produced in Orissa. The Asanakhali plates[41] of Narasimha II, dated A.D. 1302, refer to the trees like mango, plantain and coconut. The Puri plates[42] of Ganga Narasimha IV, dated A.D. 1393, record the grant of a village whose western boundary was a *āmvatōṭā* (mango groves) on the river bank of Gopinathapura. The Kendupatana plates[43] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1294, refer to a land covered by *tāḷa-vaṇa* (palmyra-groves). Coconut was of considerable importance which can be located on the coastal regions of Orissa even today. A chart on agricultural and other products may be produced to show the different areas of production as known from the inscriptional evidences.

Irrigation

Agriculture was dependent mainly upon rain water as it does even today. The uncertainty of monsoon rains, however, led to the provision of irrigational activities which may be traced back to the time of the Naṇḍas.[44] During the Gaṅga and Gajapati period, the inscriptions very often refer to the provision of irrigation facilities.

There were a number of water reservoirs in Kalinga. The Achyutpuram plates[45] of early Gaṅga king Indravarman (7th century A.D.) record the grant of one *haḷa* of land in a field near *Rājataṭaka*. The Śantabommali plates[46] of Indravarman also record the grant of two *haḷas* of land whose southern boundary was formed by a channel (*jōḍa*) from the *Kṣatriyataṭaka*. The names *Kṣatrivataṭaka* and *Rājataṭaka* may denote that these reservoirs were constructed and owned by the royal family and the ksatriya community. These water reservoirs appear to have been under some kind of control and could not be utilised for irrigational purposes without prior approval. The Achyatpuram[47] plates of early Gaṅga king Indravarman (7th century A.D.), state that on the occasion of the consecration of *Rājataṭaka*, a *haḷa* of land was granted to brāhmaṇa Durgāśarmana in the village of Siddhārthaka with the right that nobody should cause hindrance to the donee if he opens the sluice-gate (*uḍaka-bandha*) of the tank. The Tekkali plates[48] of Indravarman record the grant of one *haḷa* of land on the western side of Vidyud-Gaṅga with the right to draw water from the tank Tungana until the crop ripened. Another plate[49] of early Gaṅga king, Devendravarman (9th century A.D.) states that one *haḷa* of land including water course was given to a brāhmaṇa donee. But he was not allowed to enjoy absolute ownership over the water course. He was asked to share the water with other families of the locality during summer (*griṣmōdaka*).

The opening ceremony of the tanks were celebrated with much pomp and

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AGRICULTURAL AND OTHER PRODUCTS

Agricultural products	*Areas of production*	*Identification of place*	*Reference*
Betel leaf (*tāmbula*)	Village Citrā and Gidasāgōpā in Kalambōrā *viṣaya*	Near Bhubaneswar in Puri district	Lingaraj Temple Inscription of Narasimha I, *IHQ*, XXXI, pp. 81-84, c. A.D. 1238-1265.
Tamarind (*tintrini*)	Village Khōnnā in the Varahavartani *viṣaya*	Village Komi near Kalingapatam in Srikakulam district	The Komi copper plate grant of Anantavarman Cholagangadeva, A.D. 1113, *JAHRS*, I, pt. 3, pp. 106-124.
Tamarind (*tintrini*)	Village Muruppāka, Touvane, Vōrā, Krōnvera, Vijayapura, Vindā, Remgā, Vārumun		Murupaka C.P. grant of Anantavarma Cholagangadeva, A.D. 1084, *JAHRS*, XII, pp. 9-16.
Paddy (*dhānva*)	Village Ālagumme	Present Alagum 11 miles from Puri town	Alagum Inscription of Anantavarma, (c. A.D. 1140-1141), *EI*, XXIX, pp. 44 ff.
Mango (*āṁva*)	Village Gōpināthapura	Near Puri	Puri plates of Ganga Narasimha IV, A.D. 1395, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 302-312.
Betel leaf	Chhāgōpadā, Kṣhatāyi, Utpalli, Kuraṅga	Near Puri town	Puri Inscriptions of Anangabhima III, *EI*, XXX, pp. 197-203.
Paddy	Rāvaṅga Māsana	Ravanga Division	*ibid.*
Paddy	Krittivāsa *Kṣhetra*	Bhubaneswar	Bhubaneswar Inscription of Ganga Narasimha, *EI*, XXXII, pp. 220 ff. L. 9-18.
Castor	Mukhalingam	Mukhalingam	Mukhalingam Stone Inscription of Vajrahasta III, dated A.D. 1058, *JAHRS*, VI, pt. 3-4, p. 208.
Mango, Plantain Coconut		Asanakhali near Puri	Asankhali plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1302, *EI*, XXXI, p. 110 ff. verse - 93.
Tamarind	Village Sātivāḍa in Eraḍ *viṣaya*		The copper plates of Vajrahasta, A.D. 1037, *JAHRS*, VIII, pp. 163-191.
Barley (*Yava*) Wheat (*gōdhuma*) Sugarcane (*ikshu*)	Vilasapura *grama* in Kuddinda *visaya*	Near village Nagari, 11 miles from Cuttack	The Nagri plates of Anangabhima III, A.D. 1294, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-195.
Palmyra	Vōhāla *grāma* in Sōṅgada *viṣaya*	Near Remuna in Balasore district	The Kendupatana plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-195.
Silk cotton (*burūva*) Palm (*tāḍi*)	Kapiḷesvara *grāma*	Modern Kapilesvarapuram in Godavari taluk in Krishna district	Veligalani grant of Kapilesvara, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 275-291.
Palmyra, tamarind	Raghudevapura	Modern Godavaripuram about 14 miles to the north-west of Rajamundry	Chiruvroli grant of Hambira, A.D. 1461, *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 177-188.

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show. The Almanda plates[50] of Anantavarman, dated A.D. 802, were issued on the occasion of the opening ceremony of a tank on the day of a solar eclipse (*sōma-grahaṇa*).

Besides the *taṭakas*, the inscriptions of this period contain such terms as *vāni, puṣkarani, bandha, jōḍa* etc. The Vizagapatam grant[51] of Anantavarman Chōḷagangadeva, dated A.D. 1135, refers to an irrigational well named *Gaṅga Vāpi* and a tank called *Mahādevı taṭaka*. The record also mentions an embankment called Veṅgimvilvāsetu. The Alalpur plates[52] of Narasimha II, dated A.D. 1294, refer to the donation of plots of land whose boundary lines consisted of tanks (*taṭaka*), canals (*jōḍa*) and dykes (*jōḍa-bandha*). The Orissa Museum plates[53] of Anaṅgabhimadeva III, (A.D. 1211-1238) refer to tanks named Alapa and Narayana Sadhu which formed boundaries of donated land. The Kendupatana plates[54] of Narasimha II, dated A.D. 1294, mention about the existence of a tank (*puṣkaraṇı*) on a donated land. The Chiruvroli grant[55] of Hambira, dated A.D. 1461, records the grant of a village whose boundaries consisted of the tanks called Purama, Keśava and Namgalu-Kōḍa canal.

There were also dams on the rivers for irrigation. This is attested to by the Tiruvidaimarudur inscription[56], dated A.D. 1096, of Kulōttunga Chōḷa in which he boasted of seizing *Kaḷiṅgamaṇḍaḷam* whose rivers were checked by dams (*setu*).

At the same time, it is found that because of available irrigational facilities the peasantry had developed in some cases double cropping and multiple cash crop products. An inscription[57] of early Ganga king Madhavavarman (8th century A.D.) records the grant of certain lands which were growing two crops in a year; one in autumn and the other in summer. All lands, however, were not suitable for double cropping and the same inscription refers to some other plots of land which yielded only one crop in autumn.

Natural Calamities: Famines and Floods

Despite various irrigational facilities for its geophysical position in India, Orissa suffered very often from natural calamities like drought and floods. However, famine was not a new phenomenon during the period.[58] In the Buddhist *Vesantara Jataka* of early Christian era one can trace the glimpses of famine stricken life of the people of Orissa.[59] *Mādaḷā Pañji*[60] records the outbreak of famines in the reign of Kapiḷendradeva and Pratāprudradeva and its tragic consequences.

Numerous rivers of Orissa with its tributaries and the Mahandi delta caused havoc due to floods. In the thirty-second year of the reign of Kapilendradeva there was a severe flood in Orissa, as known from the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*.[61] This necessitated royal charities for construction of dams and embankments on the rivers. According to *Madaḷa Pañji*[62] a stone revetment was constructed at Kaṭaka by one Markaṭakeśarı. N. K. Sahu[63] thinks that the revetment was built by the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhımadeva III, who laid the foundation of Vāraṇası Kaṭaka.

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It seems that the agrarian productions declined in the Gajapati period. The period was particularly visited by recurrent droughts and famines. The Gajapati rulers were more occupied with their domestic problems and foreign aggressions than for any economic development activities like expanding irrigational facilities to the people. Not a single evidence of irrigational facilities can be found during the Gajapati period. Thus, it may be concluded that the Ganga period marked the expansion of agriculture whereas the Gajapati period marked its decline.

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2. *EI*, III, pp. 17-21.
3. *IO*, II, pt. 1, p. 199.
4. *OHRJ*, V, pp. 1-18.
5. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 302-12.
6. *ibid*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95.
7. *ibid*, XXIII, pp. 19-23.
8. *ibid*, XXXIV, pp. 177-88.
9. *Mādalā Pāñji*, p. 31.
10. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 109-28.
11. K. Mahapatra, *Charyā Gītikā*, p. 84.
12. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 204.
13. *ibid*, pp. 206-09.
14. *ibid*.
15. *ibid*.
16. *The Book of Durate Barbosa*, I, p. 228.
17. The chart on types of land may be consulted.
18. According to D. C. Sircar *gō-charman* is the area of land which could be covered by the hides of cows slaughtered on a sacrifice and which was granted to the priests as sacrificial fee, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
19. T. Watters, *Travels of Yuan-Chwang*, p. 194.
20. *ibid*.
21. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, p. 42.
22. Quoted by P. C. Jain, *Socio-Economic Explorations of Medieval India*, p. 126.
23. R. C. Majumdar, (ed.), *History and Culture of Indian People*, VI, p. 658.
24. *Ādya Parva*, pp. 68, 94, 134.
25. K. K. Behera, ed., p. 96.
26. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
27. Chapter IV on Crafts and Industries may be consulted.
28. *Op. cit.*, p. 103.
29. K. Mahapatra, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
30. Alalpur plates of Narasimhadeva II, *EI*, XXXX, pp. 17-25.
31. In this context Sarala Dasa has described that Bhīma used mustard for making oil when he was serving as a cook in the house of king Virāṭa. *Mbh.*, *Virāṭa Parva*, p. 11.
32. *JAHRS*, VI, pt. 3-4, p. 208.
33. *OHRJ*, I, no. 4, p. 302; *IHO*, XXXI, pp. 81-84.
34. Alalpur Plates, *op. cit.*
35. *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 42-44.
36. tr. M.A. Stein, VII, 194.
37. *Adi Parva*, p. 59; *Sabha Parva*, p. 60.

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38. *Adya*, p. 21.
39. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 198.
40. Quoted by L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 260.
41. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 109-28.
42. *ibid*, XXVIII, pp. 302-12.
43. *ibid*, XXVIII, pp. 185-95.
44. The Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela records the excavation of a canal by the Naṇḍa king. *EI*, XX, p. 72.
45. *EI*, III, pp. 127-30.
46. *JAHRS*, IV, pp. 21-29.
47. *EI*, III, pp. 127-30.
48. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 307-11.
49. *ibid*, XIII, pp. 212 ff.
50. *ibid*, III, pp. 17-21.
51. *IA*, XVIII, pp. 172-76.
52. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
53. *OHRJ*, XII, pp. 164-96.
54. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 185-95.
55. *ibid*, XXXIV, pp. 177-88
56. *SII*, III, no. 158.
57. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XVI, no. 78, p. 77.
58. In the later period, particularly during Maratha and British rule one can have sufficient evidences of droughts, famines and floods, J.K. Samal, *Orissa under the British Crown*, pp. 1-27 may be consulted.
59. N. K. Sahu, *Oḍiya Jatira Itihāsa*, p. 63.
60. Mādaḷā Pānji, pp. 44, 52.
61. *ibid*, p. 44.
62. *ibid*, p. 15.
63. N. K. Sahu (ed.), *History of Orissa*, II, p. 291.

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FOUR

Crafts and Industries

The economy of medieval Orissa was primarily an agrarian one from 11th to 16th centuries. A progressive development of industrial arts both at the urban and rural centres may even be discerned. The rise of landed aristocracy, development of urban centres around the temples, capital of the kings and trade centres necessitated demand for luxury goods resulting in the growth of a number of industries.

Rural Industries

A number of rural industries developed in Orissa even in the pre-Mauryan period.[1] This might have attained a high degree of excellence owing to the skill and enterprise of the craftsmen and also due to abundance of raw materials during the Gaṅga and Gajapati regimes. The most important craftsmen from the point of view of village economy were the blacksmiths and the potters. The profession of a blacksmith was of vital importance to the rural population. But curiously enough Orissan inscriptions do not speak much about them. Pottery was another rural industry referred to in the inscriptions. An inscription[2] at the Liṅgarāj temple of Bhubaneswar and Nagari plates[3] of Anaṅgabhima III refer to the existence of potters in the village locality. Another epigraphic record[4] of the 12th century refers to the grant of two *vaṭis* of land to a potter for providing pots daily to be utilised in cooking *bhōga* for the lord Liṅgarāja. The medieval literature like *Mahābhārata*[5] of Sarala Dasa and *Bhāgavata*[6] of Jagannātha-Dasa mention about potters and different kinds of potteries. Basket making was another kind of rural industry which might have engaged a large number[7] of people from the lower stratum of the society. Dōmbis were engaged in this profession as mentioned in the *Charyāpadas*[7].

There also existed village based agro-industries such as the manufacturing of jaggery and oil. It has already been seen that the cultivation of sugarcane was practised in Orissa in the period under review[8]. The Puri plate[9] of Bhānudeva

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II and Alalpur plates[10] of Narasimhadeva II refer to *guḍika* (maker of jaggery) in different haṭṭas. But the inscriptions do not say anything about the process of jaggery manufacturing.

Oil industry seems to have been an essential industry during this period. There are several inscriptional references to gifts of perpetual lamps to the temples[11]. An inscription[12] mentions the grant of land for the supply of castor oil to a temple. There are references to *teḷin* (oil men) in different markets[13]. *Taiḷakara* or oil miller is also mentioned in epigraphic sources. An inscription[14] from Srikurmam, dated A.D. 1316, mentions that king Narasiṁhadeva IV assigned to the temple a *taiḷakara* or oil miller, Talla by name, together with all the taxes.

Localised Industry

In Orissa the geographical conditions favoured the growth of some types of localised industries. For example, manufacturing and trade of salt were carried on in Orissa from the very ancient time[15]. An inscription[16] of Chōḍagaṅgadeva mentions a salt tax collector (*lavaṇakarādhikāri*). It may be assumed that manufacturing of such articles as salt was localised in the coastal areas.

Industries Oriented towards Important Consumers of the Period

a. *Landed Aristrocracy*

Orissa was one of the main traditional centres of textile manufacturing. The *Arthaśāstra*[17] refers to the production of best stuff of cotton fabrics in Apāranta, Kaḷiṅga, Madhura, Vātsa and Mahisa. The word 'Kaḷiṅgam' itself connotes cloth in the Tamil language. It seems that the rich tradition of weaving in Orissa reached its highest perfection in medieval times. Abul Fazl[18] has mentioned about the manufacturing of cloth in Orissa. According to the *Khulāsat-ūl-Tāwarikh*[19] (A.D. 1695-1699) good cloth was produced in Orissa. In the absence of any surviving specimen of the quality of Orissan textile production evidences have to be found from other sources; primarily from the representation of sculpture. In the two principal sculptures in the Liṅgarāj temple of Bhubaneswar (*c.* 10th century A.D.), the artist has attempted to produce a vestment of rich brocade which establishes the fact that such rich fabrics were in use in that period. R.L. Mitra[20] is of the opinion that, "it is in no way inferior to the finest production of Banares loom of the present day". The dancing sculptures of Kapiḷeśvara and Parśurāmeśvara temples (*c.* 9th century A.D.) support the view that rich textile fabrics were manufactured in Orissa[21]. The garments of Pārvati, one of the niche images of the Liṅgarāj temple (*c.* A.D. 1050) are very minutely carved. P. Acharya has remarked, "it seems to be a printed cloth for which Orissa was famous"[22]. The clothing of the images of Viṣhṇu preserved in the

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Orissa State Museum is another example of fine embroidery works. It is assigned by P. Acharya to the 13th century A.D.[23]

Besides the sculptural representations, Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābhārata* has mentioned different kinds of cloth like *jhina, patta* used by the elite section of the then community like the royal families. He says that Draupadi came to Sayambara Sabhā wearing a *jhina* (linen) cloth[24]. Clothes of different colour and varieties were also used by the people which were manufactured in Orissa. The *pitāmbar sārees* of Orissa was famous all over India as known from the *Viśala Deva Rāso*[25] of Nala. Here the hero Viśaladeva has told his wife to bring her a *sāree* from Utkaḷa. In *Rudrasudhānidhi*[26] also references to the different kinds of clothes are found such as *pita-kauṣeva*, scrafs, flags and bedsheet.

It may be assumed that craftsmen such as goldsmiths were catering to the needs of the elite consumers of the society. A goldsmith named Ravisadhu, attached to a donated village, is known from the Puri plates of Bhānudeva II.[27] The Nagari plates[28] of Anaṅgabhimadeva III refer to the settlement of a goldsmith family in a town. The ornaments depicted in the relief sculptures of temples at Bhubaneswar and Puri reveal the excellence in jewellery design in the period.[29] The goldsmiths were also making silver ornaments. The girdles and the anklets of Parśurāmeśvara temple might have depicted the silver art. Sarala Dasa[30] also referred to various kinds of silver ornaments which show that silver was also in popular use in Orissa.

A class of artisans specialised in the art of ivory carving flourished in Orissa from the early times. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*[31], an earlier work of the first century A.D., states Dosārene (Orissa) as producing the best ivory. The *Hūdūd-ūl-Ālam*[32] (9th century A.D.) mentions the ivory exports of Orissa. Sarala Dasa[33] has also mentioned various ivory objects like comb, bed etc., which suggests that the art of ivory carving in Orissa continued from the earliest time to the medieval period.

There were other industries in Orissa also, such as, perfumery etc. References to the offering of incense to the gods can be seen in epigraphs.[34] The Nagari plates[35] of Anaṅgabhimadeva III refer to a perfumer (*gandhika*). The manufacturing of perfume was, thus, a distinct occupation for a group of people.

The discovery of a large number of copper plates indicate that coppersmithy must have provided employment to a large number of artisans in the state. The inscriptions refer to the *tāmrakāras* (coppersmiths) who were manufacturing copper plates.[36] The Nagari plates[37] also refer to a brazier (*kamsyikah*) of a locality. *Kamsā* utensils were very much in use in Orissa as known from the *Mahābhārata* of Sarala Dasa.[38]

Metal industry was one of the important industries of Orissa. The *Yuktikalpataru*[39] states that swords were produced in Magadha, Nepal, Aṅga and Kaḷiṅga. The sculptures of this period show weapons such as battle axe, sword, dagger etc. Various forms of battle axe noticed at the Liṅgaraj temple

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Bhubaneswar[40] show that it was made in large quantities. Sarala Dasa has depicted the scene of blacksmith working with his furnace, in his *Mahābhārata*.[41]

b. *Temples*

The fact that several temples were built in this period suggests the existence of specialised skill at least in two areas: (i) stone carving and cutting, (ii) iron technology. Perhaps these skilled artisans were mainly employed by the state. Apart from the manufacturing of weapons, metal technology was put to other uses in this period. The iron beams in the temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar suggest that iron technology was in a large measure harnessed to the construction of temples. About 239 iron beams ranging upto 17' long and upto 5'6" section have been used in the Puri Jagannātha temple alone. Not a single wooden beam was in use in the Bhubaneswar temple as reported by Andrew Sterling[42]. Iron beams were also used in Konark temple, the biggest iron beam is 35 feet long with a girth of 36 feet and weighing 90 tons[43]. The iron beams of Konark have been exposed to the saltry air of the nearby sea for seven centuries lying without any symptom of rust which shows the scientific genius of the Oriya builders of the medieval times. Percy Brown has remarked that beams were forged and that "the larger ones were evidently produced by welding together a number of blooms of wrought iron by means of hammer". He further states, "this process of forging of beams has been known only to Orissa"[44].

It may be assumed that the construction activities of temples must have helped the growth of subsidiary industries like manufacturing of tools and implements, stone carving, bricks, mortars and lime. The remnants of the sculptures of this period testify to both the volume and skill of the stone work, by the Orissan artisans in the field of architecture and lithic industries. The construction of the temples might have provided means of livelihood to a large section of the people. The inscriptions do not say anything about the artisans and architects of Orissa. That the architects were known as *sūtradharas* is known from an inscription[45] of Svapaneśvara in the time of Anangabhimadeva.

Guilds

Continuing from the Maurya period the trade and industrial guilds were a feature of Indian economic life. They played a vital role in urban life in organising the infrastructure for the sale and distribution of the surplus products of the villages and urban centres. The guilds were subject to process of change in economic activities but it would appear that during this period revival of guild activities was taking place. A review of epigraphic sources indicate the existence of some form of caste guilds in Orissa. The existence of various industries, crafts suggest that easy marketing of some of the products would not have been possible without the efficient organisation of guilds. A copper plate inscription[46], dated

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A.D. 1024, refers to a grant of vaiśya *agrāhara* (gift of village to vaiśyas or traders). The *agrāhara* consisted of three villages donated to Erapa Nāyaka, a vaiśya or a trader. Originally, he was from Dantapura which is identified as the port town of Pāloura, famous for ivory industry[47]. Furthermore, villages having a group of professionals from the same caste might have led to the formation of caste guilds. The money reserves in the hands of merchants for maintenance of the perpetual lamps in temples[48] may be concluded that there was the existence of the guilds of merchants who were investing money donated to the temples.

It is not known exactly whether crafts and industries declined in the Gajapati period. The evidences are rather scanty. However, it may be concluded that in the Gajapati period arts and crafts have got a set back due to the outside invasions. The government has not taken any interest for the improvement of industrial crafts in the country. The stone cutting industry evidently had declined during the Gajapati period as no big project of temple construction was undertaken by the Gajapati monarchs.

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3. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
4. *OHRJ*, II, p. 53.
5. *Vana Parva*, p. 31.
6. *Bhagavata*, p. 59.
7. Quoted by K. Mahapatra, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101.
8. Chapter III on Agrarian Economy may be consulted.
9. *JASB*, XVII, pp. 19-26.
10. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
11. For gift of lamps to the temples. Three temple inscriptions from Bhubaneswar, *OHRJ*, I, no. 2, pp. 1-9; Bhubaneswar inscription of Anangabhima Chodagangadeva, *EI*, XXX, pp. 29-32.
12. *JAHRS*, VII, pt. IV, p. 232.
13. Alalpur plates of Narasimhadeva II, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24; and Puri plates of Bhanudeva II, *JASB*, XVII, pp. 19-26.
14. *SII*, V, 1158.
15. B.S. Das, "A Peep into the Economic History of Orissa from 500 A.D. to the time of Muslim occupation", *Sambalpur University Journal*, 1972, p. 109.
16. *OHRJ*, III, no. 3, p. 157.
17. *Artha*, II, p. 11.
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19. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 47.
20. R.L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, I, p. 119.
21. N.K. Sahu, *Odiya Jatire Itihasa*, pp. 316-17.
22. P. Acharya, *Studies on Orissa History, Archaeology and Archives*, p. 545.
23. *ibid.*
24. *Ādi Parva*, p. 251.
25. K.R. Qanungo, *Historical Essays*, pp. 19-20.

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26. *op. cit.* pp. 50, 55, 61, 96, 97.
27. *JASB*, XVII, pp. 19-26.
28. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-258.
29. R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, plates XXVII, XXVIII.
30. *Sabhā Parva*, pp. 181-187.
31. W.H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 49, 56, 62.
32. V. Minorski, *Hudud-al-Alam* p. 86.
33. *Udjōga Parva*, p. 99; *Madhya Parva*, p. 55.
34. *JBORS*, II, pp. 426-27.
35. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
36. *ibid.*
37. *ibid.*
38. *Vana Parva*, pp. 48, 324; *Śhānti Parva*, p. 16.
39. Ishara Chandra Shastry, ed., 25-28, p. 170.
40. R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
41. *Ādi Parva*, p. 151.
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43. M. Manasinha, "Reflections on the wonder and enigma of Konark", *Marg*, XII, pp. 27-32.
44. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Buddhist & Hindu Periods, p. 127.
45. *EI*, VI, pp. 198-207.
46. *JAHRS*, VIII, pp. 163-191.
47. A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, p. 212.
48. *EI*, XXXIII, p. 181.

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FIVE

Trade and Commerce

The surplus agrarian and industrial products of the Ganga empire led to the growth of trade and commerce in medieval Orissa which continued to flourish from the early times. The medieval society, however, consisting of enterprising merchant community carrying on trade with the South East Asian countries declined during the Gajapati regime.

Rural Trade

The rural trade of medieval Orissa was mainly carried out by *hattas*. The epigraphic evidences of the Ganga and Gajapati periods often refer to *hattas* which were the nuclei of rural trade. The ruling monarchs established these *hattas* by bringing the enterprising elements of the population as a part of their undertakings of public utility. They provided lands for markets and a number of merchants were attached to them.

The *hattas* may be presumed to have served the need of the village people. The Puri copper plate inscription[1] of Bhānudeva II, dated A.D. 1312, refers to as many as five *hattas*, such as Dolatanga *hatta*, Tarapur *hatta*, Khadiōngā hatta, Mahantapadi *hatta* and Adhançā ōkhala. The Alalpur plates[2] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1294, also refer to Uchabhapadā *hatta*, Vijayalakṣhmipur *hatta* and Varanga *hatta*. Many such inscriptions can be cited which refer to the different *hattas*.

The inscriptions are, however, silent about the composition, functions and genesis of village *hattas*. They are also silent about the specific geographical location of the *hattas*, but they can be located in different *viṣavas* (districts) which the inscriptions mention. The *hattas* referred to in the Puri inscription[3] of Bhanudeva, were in the Rāvanga-*viṣaya* which can be located in the modern district of Puri and the *hattas* referred to in the Alalpur plates[4] were in the Sāilō *viṣaya* and Saivirā *viṣaya* which can be located around village Alālpur near Bhubaneswar. So the epigraphic evidences show that these *hattas* were situated

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in the modern coastal districts of Puri and Cuttack. *Hattas* as market centres seem to be a continuation of an earlier tradition. An inscription from Jājpur[5] assigned to the 8th century A.D., refers to a *hatta*.

The copper plate grants also refer to various merchants of different *hattas* who were attached to donated villages. The Alalpur copper plate grant[6], dated A.D. 1294, records the grant of one hundred *vātikas* of land in five plots scattered in different villages. A number of rent paying subjects were also attached to the gift land. They were:

1. Asati who was the son of the *gudika* (manufacturer or seller of jaggery) Nārāyaṇa who belonged to the Uchhaphapadā *hatta*.
2. Madhi *Śreṣthin* who was the grandson of Bhrti *Śreṣthin* and was a potter of the Yaitrapada *hatta*.
3. Kāḷiā who was the grandson of Gōpāḷadānu and who belonged to the Saragada navava *hatta*.
4. Parakha *Śreṣthin* who was the son of Jāguli *Śreṣthin* and was an oilman of Vairao gōpāpa.
5. Punkarā who was the grandson of Pratōsva and a seller of betel leaves attached to the Jānkhera Jayapura *hatta*.
6. Dhermu *Śreṣthin* who was the grandson of Kukumachānda and was a relation of the oilman Gabhuraṇā of Uthali.
7. Maikra, the grandson of Marttenda and a goldsmith of the Vijayalakṣhmīpur *hatta*. He was made a substitute for *utjās-adhyaksha* who was the grandson of the goldsmith Visu-Mahalika and belonged to Vārāṅga *hatta*.

The evidence shows that the merchants operated in the context of a single *hatta* and that they may not have had much mobility. These merchants were perhaps the primary producers of the goods, as well as sellers. The references to *hattas* in connection with assigned land also suggest that rural trade was organised under the supervision of landed magnates. Sometimes, *hattas* were under the royal princes. The Asanakhali plates[7] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1302, refer to a *hatta* named *Kumāra bhōga hatta*. Perhaps, this *hatta* was enjoyed by a royal prince.

Besides the inscriptional evidences, the literature of medieval Orissa also often refer to the *hattas*. Sarala Dasa, in his *Mahābhārata*[8] has described the sell of fire woods in a *hatta*. *Rudrasudhānidhi*[9] and Oriya *Bhagavata*[10] also refer to different *hattas*. It has been stated in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*[11] that Anangabhīmadeva established three hundred and fifty *hattas* in Orissa.

These village *hattas* may be presumed to have acted as a direct link among the cultivators, craftsmen and artisans. The attachment of merchants and craftsmen to the gift village may suggest the self sufficiency of the economic units governed by their own conventions and laws under the royal patronage.

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Merchandise

In absence of detailed information regarding the mechanics of trade it may be presumed that the surplus products of agrarian economy may be the main commodities of *haṭṭa* centred trade. There were different varieties of commercial crops[12] like cotton, sugarcane, betel leaves, betel nut and coconut. The merchants also traded industrial products[13] like textile, perfumes etc. Orissa was also famous in exporting diamonds. It was thought to be available in the Hirakud region of Sambalpur on the banks of the river Mahanadi[14].

Salt was another commercial product of Orissa produced in its coastal region. It may be presumed that Orissa exported salt to other parts of India. The Ganga and Gajapati rulers appointed salt tax collectors (*lavaṇakarādhikārī*) who used to collect taxes from the producers as well as from the traders[15]. But from the available sources no exact figures are available either about the volume of production and consumption of the oceanic salt or the royal income derived from the commodity.

The elephants of Kaḷiṅga were much prized by the neighbouring provinces. Yuan-Chwang[16] has stated that Kaḷiṅga produced large dark coloured elephants. The early Muslim expeditions into Orissa were mainly motivated by a desire to obtain elephants. The *Tabāquat-i-Nāsirī*[17] states that the Bahamani ruler Firuz Shah entered Orissa and carried away a number of elephants. It suggests that Orissa may have exported elephants to the neighbouring countries. The sculptures depicted on the gateway of the Lakṣhmaṇeśvara and Parśurāmeśvara temples (*c.* A.D. 900) show the scenes of capture of elephants from the forests.[18] Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, in one of his inscriptions[19] mentioned as the lord of ninety-nine thousand elephants (*nava-navati sahasra-kuñjarādhīśvara*). Due to the mighty elephantry of Orissa, the Sūryavaṁśī rulers assumed the title of Gajapati or the lord of elephants. It may be presumed that elephants were always the royal monopoly.

One may perhaps presume that there was a difference between *haṭṭa* based trade and long distance trade. Haṭṭa trade was mainly based upon rural self-sufficient economy where transactions in local products were made. The merchants at the haṭṭas were also often the primary producers of the commodities judging by the products. But in long distant trade, it was organised by the professional merchants. The existence of professional merchants in Orissa may be deduced from references to *śreṣthīes* who were in a sound financial position to purchase land[20] and were termed as leading merchants (*sādhu pradhāna*[21]). The *Chitrāvalī*[22] of Usman refers to Lachchan sahu a trader of jewels in Puri. The existence of overseas trade shows the ventures of merchants who operated outside the country.

Medium of Exchange: Coins and Currency

The inscriptions very often refer to the coins and currency system of

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medieval Orissa. Without a systematic coins and currency system trade and commerce of Orissa would not have been possible during the Gaṅga and Gajapati regimes.

(1) *Cowrie*

The Cowrie currency seems to have been popular in Orissa during this period. At this stage it is difficult to say when it was first introduced in Orissa. However, for the first time in 8th century A.D., during the time of Bhaumakaras the inscriptional references to the use of cowrie currency[23] are found and this cowrie currency system continued during the Ganga and Gajapati periods. The Algum inscription[24] of the time of Anantavarman, dated A.D. 1140-41, refer to the cowrie currency system. Another inscription[25] of the time of Puruṣottamadeva of Gajapati dynasty also refers to the cowrie currency. Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābharāta*[26] has also mentioned about the prevalence of cowrie currency. Kavi Nala of 13th century A.D., in his *Viśāl Deva Rāsō*[27] has described a scene where the hero tells the heroine to bring cowries from Utkala. *Mādaḷā Pāñji*[28] has also referred to the *kauḍi, gaṇḍā* and *bōḍi*, the arithmetical denominations of the cowrie currency, suggesting the wide prevalence of cowrie currency.

At present, it is difficult to ascertain the value of the cowrie currency in Orissa. M.M. Chakravarty[29] on the basis of *Mādaḷā Pāñji* has tried to ascertain the value of cowrie in medieval Orissa. Some of the denominations of the cowrie currency can be known from the Algum inscription[30] of Anantavarman Choḍagangadeva (12th century). It states that a hundred *churnis* added by five *purāṇas* were deposited in the temples for providing a perpetual lamp. D.C. Sircar[31] is of the opinion that *churni* denotes a hundred cowrie shells while *purāṇa* was the old silver *karṣapaṇa* usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowrie shells. An Oriya inscription[32] from Indupur belonging to first half of 16th century A.D., refers to 75 *kāhāṇas* of cowries. *Kāhāṇa* was a small denomination of the cowrie currency and it was calculated in the *kaḍā, gaṇḍā*, and *paṇa* terms[33]. This cowrie currency system was in use to serve the need of the rural people. There is every possibility to presume that the rural trade was mainly based upon the cowrie currency which continued for generations together.

(ii) *Māḍḥas*

Besides the cowrie currency, gold coins known as māḍḥas were also prevalent in Orissa. Many inscriptions of the Gangas and Gajapatis refer to the *māḍḥas*. The Puri plates[34] of Narasimhadeva IV, dated A.D. 1395, refer to the donation of three plots of land whose income was calculated in terms of *māḍḥas*. An inscription[35] at Liṅgarāj temple of the time of Rajarajadeva, dated A.D. 1172, refers to the grant of five *māḍḥas* to burn a perpetual lamp.

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The Ganga and Gajapati *maḍhas* has been found in various parts of Orissa like Angul, Cuttack, Sonepur as well as in Tamluk (Tamralipta) of the Midnapore district of West Bengal. Some of these gold *maḍhas* have been preserved in the Orissa state Museum, Sambalpur University Museum and Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta[36]. The general feature of the *maḍhas* are small in size, circular in shape and inscriptions at both sides. In the obverse side a couchant bull and a chakra above where as in reverse side there is *aṅkuśa* and *kuthāra*[37]. In some coins there are inscriptions '*Śrī Gaṅga*'.[38]

These coins show that the Gangas had a well systematised currency system for higher transactions. One finds references to the use of maḍhas in case of state revenue, land sale and purchase, temple deposits. Perhaps, *maḍhas* were in very limited circulation. However, it is not known much about mint process and its denominations.

Weights and Measures

For efficient trade and commerce, uniform system of weights and measures were used in Orissa. From the inscriptional evidences different kinds of weights and measures may be known.

(i) *Aḍhaka*

Aḍhaka as a term of measure is known from the inscription[39] of Prapannāchārya in the temple of Parśurāmeśvara. It states that Prapannacharya made gift of one *aḍhaka* for the daily offering to the Lord Parśurāmeśvara. According to S.N. Das[40], *aḍhaka* denotes a measure of rice which is equivalent to about 3/4th of a standard *seer*. But *aḍhaka* may be same as the *aḍā* system which is still prevalent in the Kalahandi and Ganjam regions of Orissa.

(ii) *Māṇa, Gauṇī, Bharaṇa*

Māṇa, gauṇī and *bharaṇa* were the measurement terms of paddy. An Oriya inscription[41] from Indupur assigned to the first half of the 16th century refers to the *bharaṇa* and *gauṇī* measurement of rice and paddy. Another inscription[42] at Jagannatha temple, dated A.D. 1237, records donation of one *vāṭi* of land for making provision for supply of one *māṇa* of rice per day in favour of lord Jagannātha. These measurements are still prevalent in the coastal Orissa. *Māṇa* probably was equivalent to 40 *seers* or 82 pounds[43].

(iii) *Pauṭi*

Pauṭi was another denomination of measurement for paddy. Sarala Dasa[44] has referred to the measurement of paddy in this unit. The Lingarāj temple

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inscription[45] of Narasimhadeva also refers to the measurement of paddy in *pauṭi.* Now-a-days also this measurement is prevalent in Orissa. P. Mukherjee[46] is of opinion that one *pauṭi* grain measure weigh 80 *aḍās* or two *maunds.*

(iv) *Parvartta*

Parvatta, another unit of paddy measurement is known from the Algum inscription[47] of Anantavarman Chodagaṅgadeva, dated A.D. 1140-41. It records the allotment of three *parvattas* of paddy for providing *naivedya* for God Gartteśvaradeva. But the exact amount of a *parvatta* of paddy is not known.

(v) *Prastha*

An inscription[48] at the Lingaraj temple, dated A.D. 1240 of the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III refers to an unit of measurement known as *prastha.* The record registers, the donation of one *prastha* of paddy to God Kṛittivāsa per day. D.C. Sircar[49] is of opinion that one *paṭika* (*pauṭi*) is equal to three *prasthas.*

(vi) *Karaṅka*

Karaṅka was another standard measurement for liquid commodities. The Bhubaneswar inscription[50] of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva, dated A.D. 1137, refers to a grant of lamp fed by 24 *karaṅkas* of oil in favour of God Kṛittivāsa. D.C. Sircar[51] is of the opinion that *karaṅka* means a small pot usually made of coconut shell for measuring liquids. But at present it is difficult to know the exact amount equivalent to one *karaṅka.*

(vii) *Kuchaṅga*

Kuchaṅga was another measure of liquid commodities prevalent in Orissa. An inscription[52] at Liṅgarāj temple, dated A.D. 1112, records the donation of a lamp with a quantity of oil measuring 24 *kuchaṅga* for lord *Kṛittivāsa. Kuchaṅga* might be a measurement like *karaṅka* whose exact amount is not known.

Intra-state and Interstate Trade Routes

The existence of industry and craft accompanied by various merchandise proves the continuity of interstate and intra-state trade. There existed a number of trade routes in different directions of Orissa connecting other states.

The accounts of the Chinese traveller Yuan-Chwang[53] who visited Orissa in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D., suggest the existence of roads between Utkaḷa, Kaṅgoda and Kaḷiṅga. Though he has not mentioned anything specifically about the roads, his journey might have taken place along the existing routes.

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The expedition of Rajendra Chola (11th century A.D.) to Dandabhukti through Orissa suggests the existence of interstate roads connecting the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh with Orissa and Bengal.[54] His army marched through Chitrakuta and passing through Binika, Sonepur of Bolangir district and following the route through eastern Keonjhar and Western Mayurbhanj, reached Daṇḍabhūkti[55]. There was another route to Orissa from the right bank of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) through Garh-Mandaran, Midnapore, Raibania and Remuna[56].

Srikshetra or Puruṣhōttamakṣhetra (Puri) was a major place of pilgrimage. Many pilgrims from different corners of India used to come to Puri. Govindapur stone inscription[57], dated c. A.D. 1124, states that the father of the poet Gangadhara came on a pilgrimage to Puruṣhōttamakṣetra (Puri). A Nagpur stone inscription[58] of the ruler of Malva, dated A.D. 1161, refers to the Purushottamakshetra. This establishes the fact that Puri was connected with different states by roads.

Moreover, transmigration of people particularly of the brahmanas into Orissa may lead one to assume the existence of interstate routes connecting Orissa with other states. *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*[59] of Kṛishṇadāsa Kavirāja describes a route which was followed by Śrī Chaitanya on his way to the port town of Puri. ŚrīChaitanya started his journey from Navadvīpa and passing through Atisāra and Chitrabhōga, he entered Orissa and reached at Remuṇā. From Remuṇā he came to Puri passing through Jajpur, Kataka and Bhubaneswara[60]. The Asanakhali plates[61] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1303, mention a route named Rajapatha. Perhaps it was one of the principal routes of Orissa connecting Puṛi. This route passed through Jaleswara, Khunta, Basta, Rupsa, Ramchandrapur and Remuna[62]. Another Gaṅga grant[63], dated A.D. 909, refers to a route named Dharmarāja Kaḷiṅga Marga which connected Orissa with South India. N.K. Sahu[64] is of opinion that it was constructed by king Dharmaraja II of Śaiḷōdbhava dynasty. These routes continued to exist till the 20th century and were used for internal trade as well as for military operations by the successive Hindu, Muslim and Maratha monarchs in Orissa and Bengal.

The findings of Ganga *fānams* from the ancient site of Tamralipta[65], in the Midnapore district of West Bengal shows that definite commercial relations continued with the South West of Bengal which was under the suzerainty of the Ganga rulers. The coins probably came to Tāmralipta out of economic transactions and it seems that Tāmralipta was connected with land and riverine routes from Orissa.

The interstate trade was mostly carried on by water routes which were more economic and convenient than the land routes. Various port towns like Kaṭakavārāṇasī[66], Jājpur[67], Suvarnapāṭṭaṇā[68], Vinītapura[69], Kaḷiṅganagara[70] were situated on the banks of the rivers. Various rivers of Orissa like the Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Vaitarani, the Suvarnarekha and the Rushikulya were of immense importance to Orissa's trade in medieval period.

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Transport

For the purpose of inland transport elephants were used, as revealed by Hiuen Tsang[71]. There were other modes of transport also. An inscription[72] of the Ganga king Anantavarman of 11th century A.D., informs us that bullocks, baffaloes and asses were used for conveyance. Bullock carts were also used for the purpose of transport. A stone sculpture of about 9th century A.D., now preserved in Bhubaneswar museum depicts a bullock cart.[73] In the *Mahābhārata*[74] of Sarala Dasa, there is a description of bullock cart and a merchant travelling with loads of merchandise on an ox.

Boats were used for the water-borne trade. At Puri, the bhōga maṇḍapa of the Jagannatha temple represents a boat to which R.L. Mitra thinks, was intended for a river.[75] A sculpture in the same temple in the outer side of the *bhōga maṇḍapa,* depicts the scene of a boat being sailed by five women.[76] *Charyāpada*[77] frequently mentions the boats being sailed in rivers. Boats of big size were manufactured in Orissa. Kavi Malik Mahammed Jayasi in his *Padmavatī*[78] has described that the hero Ratan Siṁha took a boat form the Gajapati king of Utkaḷa which had the capacity of seven hundred people and sailed to Simhala.

Ports

The overseas trade in Orissa were handled through a number of ports. The literary sources speak of a number of ports on the coast of Orissa, some of which are now difficult to identify. The ports of Orissa mentioned in the early Bengali literature[79] are Puri, Kaḷiṅga or Kaḷiṅgapaṭnam, Cikākuli (Chicācole) and Bāṇpur.

Oriya kāvya *Parimaḷā*[80] (A.D. 1530-1540) written by Narasimhasena describes a journey undertaken by a trader named Ratnakara to Simhala. An important event is recorded in *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*[81], the teṁple chronicle at Puri. This is known as the invasion of Raktabāhu who is described as a Yavana and whose coming with a large cargo along the sea route caused a great devastation at Puri. This shows that ships were moving in the Bay of Bengal.

Puri was an important sea port in Orissa. Yuan-Chwang[82] has described the port of Che-li-tā-lō (Charitra) which has been identified with the modern town of Puri.[83] It was a thoroughfare and resort for sea traders and passengers. The city contained many rare commodities.[84] There is no evidence of the decline of the port in this period. The construction of the great Jagannātha temple on the sea shore might have been a result of the strategic device of the Gaṅga rulers to develop trade and commerce by attracting merchants to this holy city.

There is every possibility to believe that Konark at the mouth of the old river Chandrabhāgā was a sea port at the time of Narasiṁhadeva, in the 13th century A.D., without which such a vast temple Konark could never have been constructed without a navigable stream. The sculptures of Konark also prove

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that once it was a prosperous sea port. On the southern side of the *Jagamōhana* there is a panel in which a king sitting on the elephant receives gifts from a group of well dressed people and in the group there is a giraffe, which is indigenous to no part of India. M. Mansinha[85] thinks that most probably some traders, had brought this animal from East Africa to this port as a present to the king when the temple was built. The artist who enjoyed its sights might have taken care to depict the scenes.

The early Bengali literary texts[86] refer to ports like Bāṇpur, Chiçācōle and Kaḷiṅgapaṭnam which were not mentioned earlier. Perhaps these were new ports. But due to the paucity of historical data no detail information is available about these ports. Baṇpur can be identified with modern Banpur on the bank of the river Sāḷia near the Chilka lake. Kaḷiṅgapāṭanā can be identified with modern Kaḷiṅgapaṭnam on the river Vaṁśadhārā.

The Maranjamura charter[87] of Sōmavaṁśi king Mahāśivagupta, dated 11th century A.D., refers to Pattana Suvarnapura which was a port town. Suvarṁapura has been located on the confluence of the river Tal and Mahanadi and is identified with modern Sonepur town in Bolangir district[88].

A palmleaf manuscript *Jārāśabara Vaṁśa Bibaraṇi* (Dynastic account of Jārāśabara) secured by S.N. Rajguru refers to a port called Baṅkimuhāṇa near Puri.[89] However, much about this port is not known.

Trade with South-East Asia

There is ample evidences to show that trade relations between Orissa and South-Asian countries continued to flourish during this period. The people of Kaḷiṅga maintained commercial intercourse with the islands of Bali, Java, Sumatra and Borneo and Malays collectively known as Suvarṇadvīpa.[90] The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[91] mentions that the Chilka lake was full of hundreds of boats and they were travelling to Jāvā, Māḷaya, Siṁhaḷa, Gaṅgāsāgara and Chinā. There is a legend current in Java which says that twenty thousand families came from Kalinga and settled in Java.[92] There was also a Hindu kingdom in central Java to which the Chinese called Hō-liṅg or Kaḷiṅga.[93]

The names of Puri and Niḷachaḷa were also used in ancient Java and Bali. In Bali, the temple where images were worshipped was called Puri[94].

It is learnt from the inscriptions of king Airlangga (A.D. 1019-42) at Java that people came to his kingdom from Kliṅg (Kaḷiṅga) Āryya Gōlā, Siṅghaḷa, Karnāṭaka, Coḷika, Māḷaya, Paṇḍibira, Drāviḍa, Caṁpā, Renen and Kṁir[95]. Another inscription[96] at Java, dated A.D. 856, and written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Javanese, refers to Kliṅgs (people of Kaḷiṅga). A copper plate[97] of Kuṭi (Java), dated A.D. 840, refers to the servants of the inner apartments of the king hailing from Caṁpā (Champa) and Kliṅg (Kalinga).

From the *Archaeological Survey Report* of Burma it is known that ancient Prome was called Śrīkṣetra and the entire region from Rangoon to Tante was

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known as Ukkala or Utkaḷapa.[98] N. R. Roy[99] is of the opinion that the name Śrīkṣetra was exported from Orissa to Burma and the culture of Kaḷiṅga spread to these islands. Further he says that old name Pegu is Uṣhā which may be a derivative form from Oḍra or Orissa.[100]

The Orissan traders also visited Ceylon.[101] The *Chuḷavaṁśa*[102] records some materimonial alliances between the Buddhist kings of Ceylon and the royal family of Kaḷiṅga. It states Vijayabāhu (A.D. 1054-1109) the king of Siṁhaḷa, married princes Tilaka Sundarī of Kaḷiṅga[103]. This matrimonial alliance might have given impetus to trade and commerce between the two countries.

There is a common belief among historians that the post-Gupta to the pre-Muslim period marks the decline of the oceanic trade and urban centres with the growth of feudalism.[104] In Orissa, the Ganga period marks the continuation of overseas trade with south-east Asian countries. The material prosperity of the Ganga empire can be attributed to some extent for its trade and commerce. There are evidences for the growth of new ports and urban centres. Orissa was one of the most profitable regions of eastern India for trade and commerce. Wang-Ta-Yuan,[105] a Chinese writer of the 14th century states that because of the cheapness of the living condition in Orissa, nine out of ten persons going there for trade did not like to return home. This indicates the flourishing trade of Orissa during the Gaṅga period where the merchants were getting ample scope of enterprise.

However, a setback came to the flourishing trade and commerce of Orissa with the accession of the Gajapati monarchs. It might have been due to the internal trouble and foreign aggression in the empire. The surplus productions of the empire declined due to famines and droughts. The rise of the Choḷa's naval supremacy on the eastern coast line also greatly affected the trade of Orissa. The source material of Gajapati monarchs also never refer to the trade and commerce of Orissa.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. *JASB*, XVII, pp. 19-26.
2. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
3. *JASB*, XVII, pp. 19-26.
4. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
5. *ibid*, XXVIII, p. 183.
6. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
7. *EI*, pp. 109-128.
8. *Udjyōga Parva*, p. 75.
9. K.K. Behera, ed. p. 95.
10. *Bhāgavata*, p. 235.
11. *Mādalā Pāñjī*, p. 32.
12. Chapter III on, Agrarian Economy may be consulted.
13. Chapter IV on, Crafts and Industries may be consulted.

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14. A. Dash, "Diamonds of Sambalpur" *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, I, ed. N.K. Sahu, pp. 1-8. In the 18th century also Lord Clive sent T. Motte to Sambalpur to search out the diamond mines of Hirakud. T. Motte, "A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond mines at Sambalpur", *OHRJ*, I, Appendix II, pp. 1-42.
15. *SII*, V, no. 1035, *OHRJ*, III, p. 157.
16. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
17. Tr. Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 592.
18. See plate, XIII, R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*
19. *IO*, III, pt. I, no. 53, p. 62.
20. Bhubaneswar Inscription of Raghava, *Śaka* 1090, *EI*, pp. 158-61; *OHRJ*, V, pp. 179 ff.
21. *ibid.*
22. K.R. Qanungo, *Historical Essays*, p. 102.
23. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 15, 23, 24.
24. *EI*, XXIX, p. 45.
25. *JASB*, LXII, (1893), p. 91.
26. *Svarga Parva*, p. 9.
27. K.R. Qanungo, *Historical Essays*, p. 99.
28. *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, pp. 31-32.
29. "Tory Weights of Ancient Orissa", *JASB*, LXI (1892), pp. 43, 49.
30. *EI*, XXIX, p. 48.
31. *ibid.*
32. *OHRJ*, III, no. 3, pp. 163-64.
33. S.C. Dey, "Cowry Currency in Orissa", *OHRJ*, I, no. 2, pp. 10-21.
34. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 302-12.
35. *OHRJ*, IX, pp. 8-9.
36. For a list of gold coins, S.C. Behera, "Six Gold coins of Imperial Gangas from Sonepur", *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, II, ed. N.K. Sahu, pp. 44-45 may be consulted.
37. D.C. Sircar, "Recent Finds of Ganga Fanams", *JNSI*, XIV, (1953), pp. 80-84.
38. S.C. Behera, *loc. cit.* p. 47.
39. *OHRJ*, II, nos. 3-4, pp. 46-48.
40. *ibid.*
41. *OHRJ*, III, no. 3, pp. 163-64.
42. *EI*, XXX, pp. 197-203.
43. P. Mukherjee has given the calculations as below :

12 *manas*	—	1 *gauni*
20 *gauni*	—	1 *pauti*
4 *pauti*	—	1 *bharaṇa*

The Gajapati Kings of Orissa, p. 159.

44. *Sabha Parva*, p. 49.
45. H.K. Mahatab, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
46. P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
47. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 44-46.
48. *Indian Culture*, VI, pp. 71-76.
49. *ibid.*
50. *EI*, XXX, pp. 29-32.
51. *ibid.*
52. *OHRJ*, I, no. 2, pp. 1-9.
53. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 190 ff.
54. *PIHC*, (1940), p. 66; *JIH*, XX, p. 3.
55. P. Acharya, "Ancient Routes in Orissa", *OHRJ*, IV, p. 43.
56. *ibid.*
57. *EI*, II, p. 330.
58. *ibid*, p. 180.
59. A.C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, ed., *Antya Lila*, II, pp. 1-117.
60. *ibid.*

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61. EI, XXXI, pp. 109-28.
62. *ibid.*
63. *OHRJ,* VII, pp. 83-90.
64. *Oḍiyā Jātira Itihāsa,* p. 324.
65. C.R. Choudhary, "A Unique Gaṅga Fānam from Tāmralipta", *JNSI,* XXI, (1959), pp. 76-78.
66. The capital of Orissa on the banks of the river Mahanadi, Nagari plates, *EI,* XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
67. P. Acharya, "Jajnagar from Epigraphic and Literary Sources from Orissa and Bengal," *PIHC,* IX, pp. 215-27.
68. *JBORS,* II, p. 52.
69. Capital town of the Somavaṁśis, *EI,* XI, pp. 95-98.
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SIX

Role of the Temples in the Economy and Society

Temples as centres of worship formed a part of the daily life of the medieval Orissan society. Yet they seem to have had a wide social relevance. These temples were regularly visited by villagers who offered *pujās* and participated in the festivals and functions organised in honour of the deity. Thus, the temples catered to the socio-religious needs of a larger section of the people and at the same time functioned as a link between the king, the founder of the temple, and the rest of the population. The construction of temples was considered to be a very significant and pious social service in the traditional society. At the same time temples represented the wealth and social power of the founder and were also a medium of spreading and consolidating royal influence.[1] Thus the construction of Jagannātha temple by Chōḍagaṅgadeva and the Sun temple at Konark by Narasimhadeva I may be described as the towers of their victory in Orissa.

Architectural Features of the Temples

Towards the 7th century A.D. the construction of temples had already been evolved in Orissa consisting of a sanctum and the ante chamber i.e. the *vimāna* and *jagmōhana*[2]. According to *Śilpaśāstra* temples are divided into three categories, Nagara, Drāviḍa and Vasara. Orissa temples, however, do not fall in any of the above mentioned categories. This shows that the architects of Orissa had won for themselves separate recognition among the then contemporary architects of India. And, in all the regional developments of temple architecture, the Kaḷiṅga style is most remarkable because the fundamental characteristic of both Nagara and Drāviḍa styles can be observed in the temple architecture of Orissa.[3] The main development in the temples of medieval period was the addition of *nāṭamaṇḍapa* and the *bhōgamaṇḍapa*. Besides, there are a number of distinct features like pavement, platform upon which temple is erected, cube, pyramidal

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tower, *beki, amalakasila, kalasa, trisula* and *chakra* [4]. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Orissa temples is the plan and the featureless treatment of the interior with ornamented walls of the exterior.

Eroticism in Temple Sculptures

The main theme of the sculpture of medieval temples is the realistic representation of erotic sculptures on the temple walls like that of Konark. Scholars have described it as the symbol of the loss of morality and rampant promiscuity in the society reflected in the art.[5] This, however, indicates the influence of a particular aspect of Hinduism known as Tantrism symbolised by the *maithuna*-rituals represented in the carvings. This conception of deification of realism (or real life experience) is not limited to the temple of Konark only but finds expression also in the literature of contemporary Orissa. The artists were inspired by the religious transformation going on in the Eastern India which was typified by the spread of the tantric and the Vaiṣnava Sahjiyā cults. These cults, however, inherited the tradition of the *Siddhachāryas*, devotees of the Vajrayana Tantric cult of Buddhism.[6]

The Medieval period saw the metamorphosis of the Tantric cults in Eastern India. The cult put great emphasis on sex rituals and the worship of the premordial female power of the Universe, i.e., Śhakti, The *mithuna* symbols represented the Tantric Yoga and especially the cult of sex worship. The act of love, basic tenet of the creation in the universe, was interpreted as the supreme goal of the devotee. Being guided by the *Guru* the devotee is to go beyond the experience of joy of physical union to realise the supreme bliss of union with God.

The Vaiṣnava *sahajiyā* path also might have originated from the Vajrayāna Tantric Buddhism, as a path of *Yōgic sādhanā*. Here the physical form of love was considered to be the path to attain the spiritual merit. The body of the devotee was regarded as the temple of worship and a replica of this universe, the ultimate creation of god. *Sahaja* means a search for ultimate truth in one's innate nature and not in a divine being above the world of the living creatures. The Buddhist and the Vaiṣnava Sahajiyā poets denied the institutionalised rituals for worship of the deity with its dogma and religious practices and revolted against rigidity in religious practices. They did not believe in the austerities of life such as suppression of natural urges like hunger and sex. On the other hand, to them hunger and sex are vehicles for self realisation. Their *Yōgic* practices aimed at sublimating sexual emotions for spiritual urge where the union with the supreme would be attained. *Mahāsukha* or the supreme bliss and *kāma*, physical desire of self satisfaction would be transfigured into *prema* — divine love and self-surrender and fulfilment of the divine desire with one's own being. *Prema* is the purified form of *kāma* which could be attained not by the negation of life but through the transformation and sublimation of *kāma*.

With these contents in mind the artists tried to portray the religious

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philosophy of the erotic sculptures. And the temples served as the media for the propagation of the religious faiths. The temple precints were the meeting places of the people, their assembly halls and *maṇḍapas.* The sculptures served as the store house of knowledge for the people to learn the ultimate truth concerning love and sex as the vehicle for attaining material prosperity here and spiritual bliss hereafter — *Dharma-Artha-Kāma-Mōksha* together.

Role of Temples in State's Economy

(i) *Expenditure of the Kingdom*

The massive construction programmes of temples and maintenance of religious institutions during the Gaṅga period drained the treasury. The amount spent by Chōḍagaṅgadeva on the construction of the Jagannatha temple was equivalent to a million of gold *māḍhas* and the jewellery given to the deities amounted to two lakhs and a half gold *māḍhas.*[7] The accounts of Ābul Fazl testify to the fact that king Narasiṁhadeva I spent the revenue of twelve years on the construction of the Sun temple at Konark.[8]

The Gajapati monarchs who succeeded the Gaṅgas, could not undertake any new project of temple construction. This might be due to poor state of economy of the kingdom and frequent Muslim invasions. However, they lavishly spent for the religious undertakings. Purushōttamadeva Gajapati immediately after coming to the throne donated costly presents to Lord Jagannātha[9] and also granted income of the southern viceroyalty as a sacred offering to the supreme lord.[10] An inscription states that the king made a gift of a number of utensils and ornaments out of devotion to the lotus feet of Jagannātha.[11]

(ii) *Endowments to the Temples*

The inscriptions frequently refer to the endowments of lands and money to the temples. The endowments to the temples started from the Sōmavaṁśi period. One can, however, survey more evidences in the period of the Imperial Gaṅgas who succeeded the Sōmavaṁśis. These temple endowments were not confined to the royal family alone, but were made by the royal officers, and rich merchants too. The purpose was mainly for the attainment of religious merit and to absolve the donor from wordly sins.[12]

(a) *Land Endowments*: Donation of land to the temples was made by the members of the royal family, ministers, merchants and officers. Sometimes king donated land to the temples and appointed priests as the trustee of the land[13]. The Puri plates[14] of Narasiṁhadeva IV record the grant of one hundred *vāṭis* of land to a brāhmaṇa Devarathāchārya who was the priest of the God Ugreśvaradeva. Many such examples can be cited to show the donation of lands

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to the temples. Here the donee was not given the ownership of the land which was granted to God Ugreśvaradeva for His maintenance. Such grants were revenue free gifts, as known from the Nagari plates of Anangabhimadeva III[15].

(b) *Endowment of Lamps* : The most common and popular gift was the donation of lamps to the temples. The donors made provisions for oil supply to the perpetual lamp. They used to deposit gold and silver currency in the temples and interest earned from these deposits was used to purchase oil to lit lamps. The Jagannātha temple inscription[16] of Chodagangadeva records the grant of a village for installation of twenty perpetual lamps and the king had deposited nine *mādhas* to supply cow *ghee* for lamps. Similarly, another inscription[17] records the grant of a perpetual lamp by a lady Medamā Devi in favour of the God Kirtivāseśvara. Sometimes, milch animals like sheep, cows, buffaloes and goats were also donated to the temples for the preparation of *ghee*. An inscription[18], dated A.D. 1081, refers to the gift of lamp and fifty female buffaloes to God Bhimesa by Bāṇapati, the Commander of king Chodagangadeva.

The donors deposited money with the merchants who arranged the burning of the perpetual lamp. An inscription[19] in the Mārkendeśvara temple informs that three merchants accepted some amount of gold coins for one perpetual lamp to be burnt before God Mārkandeśvara. The responsibility of the merchants was to supply oil for the lamp in lieu of the interest from the money deposited with them. Money was also deposited with the temple superintendent and village headmen for burning the perpetual lamp. An officer named Kamaṇḍi had deposited some money with the temple superintendent for a perpetual lamp[20]. Rājan Pramadi, the younger brother of king Anangabhimadeva had also deposited five *mādhas* with the village headman for burning a perpetual lamp[21].

Temple Management

The inscriptions as well as literature are silent about the system of temple management and number of officers attached to it[22]. But it may be presumed that the temples of Orissa did not possess an elaborate machinery of officers like those of the South Indian temples[23]. Temples were maintained by various endowments. The Murupaka grant[24] of Chodagangadeva, dated A.D. 1083, records the grant of a village to five persons for rendering services like worshipping, offering, dancing, singing and beating drums for God Narendrasvaradeva and for undertaking occasional repair works of the temple. The officers and individuals were also donating plots of land for daily maintenance of the temple. An inscription[25] at the Lingaraj temple records the grant of five *vātis* of land by a Ganga general Govinda Senāpati. The land was granted for making provisions for sweeping the *mandapa* thrice a day, washing its walls once a year and repairing the roof once in every twelve years. Out of five *vātis* of land, two were alloted to kumbhakāra (potter) for repairing the roof, two to the *chunakāra*

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(lime washer) for white washing and one to sweeper for cleaning the floor. These lands were enjoyed by the servants in lieu of their services to the temple. Provisions were also made for the daily worship of the God by individuals. The Parvati temple inscription[26] and an inscription at Parśuramesvara temple[27] record the arrangements made by Prappanacharya and Bhimabahika for daily worship in the temple.

Temples as Landed Magnates

The accumulation of donated lands by the temples might have led to the formation of a class of landed magnates like early medieval South Indian temples.[28] As the owner of the vast landed property, a large number of agricultural labourers might have been employed for cultivation. The yields of the land gave temples the major share of income. The lands were under the supervision of temple priests. The temples might have taken active interest for the agricultural development of the area. But details are not available to establish the role of temples for extension of cultivation as could be found in case of the South Indian temples[29].

Temple as an Employer

For the management of temples, a number of peoples were employed. It employed accountants, treasurers, musicians, drummers, singers, lamp-holders, cooks, sweepers and gardeners. *Devadasis* (temple dancers) were also appointed in the Orissan temples. Chodagangadeva is credited to have introduced *devadasi* dancing in the temple of Lord Jagannatha for the first time. It formed daily ritual of the temple. Many people such as milkmen, garlanders were engaged in supplying milk and flowers to the temple for daily worship of the deity.

Temples as a Consumer

The temples were the major consumers of the local products which were regularly purchased and used for performance of the rituals. So it might have led to the establishment of industry like perfumery. The potters might have engaged in supplying earthen pots to the temples. The temples which attracted a large number of pilgrimages might have created a good market for the local merchants.

Temple as a Bank

The deposition of money with the temples and merchants for the purpose of burning lamps might have been utilised for rural credit institutions. The *Adhikaris, Deul Purusha* or the temple heads lent the money to the needy people

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and the interest earned, was utilised for the burning of the lamp. The Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramadi[30] informs that the villagers receiving the money had to pay interest at the rate of one quarter per month, i.e., 25% (*māsa-padika-kāḷā*). The rate of interest of Orissan temples was 25% whereas the demand of the Chōḷa temples was approximately not more than $12^1/_2$%.[31] The money deposited in the temples might have had contributed to the growth of rural industries by lending money.

Temples and the Regional Development

The temples played an important role for the regional development in Medieval Orissa. As a land owner of the locality it looked after the cultivation of donated lands and extended cultivation to non-cultivable donated areas. The temples mobilised resources of land, labour and money and financed rural artisans and merchants. Thus, urban centres developed around the temples. The construction of roads, tanks, and bridges were carried out by the state for temples and pilgrims. An inscription[32] of Svapaneśvara of the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva at Māgheśvara temple (A.D. 1192) states that Svapaneśvara after constructing a magnificent temple for God Śiva, laid out a garden near the temple, built a tank near it and erected a *maṇḍapa*. He also excavated wells, tanks, constructed roads and arranged lights in the temples and cloisters for the study of the *Vedas*. Industries developed to cater to the needs of the temples and pilgrims. The pilgrims from other states brought wealth to spend in religious shrines resulting in raising the standard of living of the people of the area.

Temples as Centre of Cultural Activities

Besides economic activities, temples were the important centres of cultural life of the then Orissa. Festivals were celebrated in the temples on different occasions. An inscription[33] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III at Lingarāj temple mentions that the *maṇḍapa* was used for performing *parvōtsava* (festivals) and *mahōtsava* (great festivals). The Lingarāj temple was noteworthy for the Śivarātri festival and the Jagannātha temple was famous for car festival which were celebrated each year upto the recent times. Dance and music were also organised in the temples. Temples had regular staff of dancers and musicians. The temples also acted as the seat of learning. Studies of various branches of the Vedic learning encouraged by the temples. The priests recited the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas* in temples as a daily routine. The community life was guided by the temple festivals. The beginning of cultivation and harvest started with offerings to the ruling deity of the temples. Moreover, the temples of Orissa were the epitome of social and cultural life of the Oriyas as one can trace the origin of its dance drama, literature, and music to the religious festivities and joys emanating from the medieval temples, as escape routes from the monotony of life.

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In spite of the various development works carried out by the temples, they as social institution acted as hoarders of wealth. A lion's share of the kingdom's income was invested for them which might have depleted the treasury of Orissa. As the mine of wealth, the temples were the main target of attack of the foreigners which invited the recurrent Muslim invasions to Orissa.

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SEVEN

Castes and Communities

A distinctive feature of the social structure of medieval Orissa was the existence of a number of castes and communities. The expansion of the political frontiers and the geographical location of the region which in turn gave rise to the changes in the pattern of caste system. The rigidity in the brahmanical system faded out and the concept of four *varṇas* in the society became fluid. Brāhmaṇas were not strictly confined to their caste professions. There was the operation of ksatriyaization process in the tribal areas. The relative importance of the vaiśyas relegated to the background and gave rise to the emergence of a dominant class of karanikas. Also, there was an upward mobility in the lower stratum of the society i.e., śūdra community as their accumulated surplus labour have made them owners of cultivable lands and this further led to the expansion of rice producing areas. There was also changes in their religious affiliation and practices which led to the social mobility in the society.

Brāhmaṇas

The brāhmaṇas, who were traditionally regarded as the highest among the four varṇas, were enjoying special prerogatives in medieval Orissa. They were the powerful members of the state and land-owning aristocracy, weilding substantial political and economic power. At the same time they enjoyed the royal patronage also. Royal patronage to brāhmaṇas in Orissa goes as far back as the 4th century A.D. the rule of the Māṭhara dynasty.[1] From that period onwards, patronage to brāhmaṇas by granting land and villages continued in Orissa. The Gaṅga and Gajapati period marks the zenith of land grants to brāhmaṇas.

(i) *Establishment of Brāhmaṇa Colonies: Śāsanas*

The grant of land to brāhmaṇas led to the establishment of new brāhmaṇa

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colonies in Orissa. A gift of single village to hundreds of brāhmaṇas was definitely helpful in creating brahmanical settlements[2]. Many grants of the Gaṅga and Gajapati periods show that the rulers took every possibility to establish new brahmanical pockets, henceforth invited them from different parts of the country.[3] The gift villages were known as *śāsana* as they were created by *tāmra śāsanas* (copper plates). Even today numerous villages of modern Orissa bear names with the suffix *śāsana* thereby indicating that they were originally villages gifted by the rulers.

A number of brāhmaṇas also migrated to Orissa from other parts of the country. Orissa was at that time one of the main religious centres and meeting points of various religious trends. The Bhubaneswar *praśasti*[4] refers to Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, a brāhmaṇa of *Savarṇa gōtra* who was from the village Siddhala in Rāḍha, confirms the brahmanical migration to Orissa. The Gaṅgas, who had matrimonial relations with the Chōḷas of South India, invited South Indian brāhmaṇas to settle in Orissa. The Bhubaneswar inscription[5] of Narasiṁhadeva, dated A.D. 1396, refers to the ascetics of Chōḍadeśa, Pāṇḍyadeśa and Kānchideśa who were settled in Orissa. These brāhmaṇas were called *Dakhiṇātya* brāhmaṇas.

A legend from Jājpur relates that Sōmavaṁśī king Yajātikeśarī invited ten thousand brāhmaṇas from North India to perform ten *asvamedha yajña* (horse sacrifices) at Jājpur where the stone steps at the Vaitarani river are still called *Aśvamedha ghāṭa*. This legend contained a historical tradition about systematic settlement of a large group of brāhmaṇas under the Sōmavaṁśīs which continued till the Gaṅga and Gajapati periods. *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*[6] also says that king Anaṅgabhīmadeva, the re-builder of the temple of Jagannātha founded 450 brāhmaṇa colonies in Purī district.

The *Māgas* or the *Śakadvīpis* who migrated from Persia, were a well recognised community of brāhmaṇas in Orissa[7]. Tradition says that king Narasimhadeva under the influence of these brāhmaṇas constructed the sun temple at Konark.

Besides these *Māga* brāhmaṇas a number of brāhmaṇas migrated from Bengal to Orissa with the Vaiṣṇava saint Śrī Chaitanya and settled at Puri.[8] Not only that, it may well be argued that a number of brāhmaṇas might have come to Orissa from West Bengal because of the Muslim invasion and social chaos existing in Bengal during that period.

(ii) *Different Sections of Brāhmaṇas: Their Gōtras and Pravars*

Though *Matsya Purāṇa* condemned the resident brāhmaṇas of Orissa, they are mentioned on equal terms with the brāhmaṇas of other parts of India.[9] A Rāṣṭrakūṭa Charter[10], dated A.D. 926, of the time of Indra III refers to five classes of brāhmaṇas on the territorial basis, where the brāhmaṇas of Orissa found a place. They were Sāraswata, Kānyakubja, Utkaḷa (Orissa), Maithili and Gauḍa. Contrary to Bengal brāhmaṇas[11] the brāhmanas of Orissa were not

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classified according to their places of origin. In Orissa profession was used to decide the status of brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas performing priestly function were regarded as superior class brāhmaṇas and in the later times known as the Oriya or śāsani brāhmaṇas, whereas the brāhmaṇas of lower professions like agriculture, trade were considered as inferior brāhmaṇas and later on were known as the *jhāruā* or *haḷuā* brāhmaṇas. Even today in Orissa this denomination of a section of the brāhmaṇas are prevalent.

Besides the territorial and functional sections, the brāhmaṇas were divided on the basis of *gōtra, pravara, śākha* which are mentioned in the inscriptions. The inscriptions provide details of their original home, names of ancestors, *gōtras, pravaras* and *charaṇas.* The main distinction recognised among the brāhmaṇas were those of the *gōtras* and *pravaras* which were the family lineage. The *gōtras* which continued with little modification to the present day defined as an exogamous patrilineal group whose members trace their descent back to a common ancestor.[12] Another section *pravara* defined as a stereotyped list of names of ancient *ṛṣi* or seers who are believed at specific points on the sacrificial ritual.[13] The brāhmaṇas of Orissa used different titles which indicate their rank and scholarship. Among the titles, Bhaṭṭa, Śarmā, Svāmī, Upādhyāya, Āchārya, Miśra seemed to be more popular. The copper plate inscriptions give the names of a number of *gōtras* and *pravaras,* mention of which is made below:

Brāhmaṇas as known from the Inscriptions

References	*Gōtras*	*Pravaras*	*Charaṇas*	*Śākhas*
The copper plates of Rajaraja I, *JAHRS*, vol. VIII, pp. 163-91, A.D. 1037.	Vātsa Kāśyapa	—	— °	—
The Copper plates of Anantavarmadeva, *ibid.*	Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana	—	—	Kanava
Murupaka copper plate grant of Anantavarman Cholagangadeva, *JAHRS*, XII, pp. 9-16, A.D. 1087.	Bharadvāja	—	—	—
Dasgoba plates of Rajaraja III, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 249-62, A.D. 1199	Kāśyapa, Kauṣika, Hamdinya, Bharadvāja, Parāśara, Rathitara, Krishṇātrayā, Kuḍḍalaka, Gārgya, Vātsa, Ghrita Kauṣika, Varshāgaṇa, Alamvāyana			

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References	*Gōtras*	*Pravaras*	*Charaṇas*	*Śākhas*
Nagari plates of Anangabhima III, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-258, A.D. 1230	Ghritakauśika, Bharadvāja, Rathitara, Kāśyapa, Puṭimāsha		(Ritvikas) Dhritikara Ananta Visveśvara Yajña, Sidhu Sankara, Madhona Prithvidhāra	Kaṇava branch of Yajurveda Kautham branch of Sāmveda.
The Orissa Museum plates of Amiyakabhima III, *OHRJ*, XII, pp. 164-196, A.D. 1121-1238.	Bharadwāja, Vātsa Māṇḍavyāsa Gōtra Kāśyapa, Puṭimāsha			Madhyaṇḍina
The Alalpur plates of Narasimha II, A.D. 1294, *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.	Vātsa Puṭimāsha		Bhārgava, Chyavaṇa, Apnuvat, Arūva, Jāmādagnya	Kaṇava branch of Yajurveda Sakaḷa branch of Ṛgveda
Kendupatana plates of Narasimha II, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 185-195, A.D. 1294	Kāśyapa		Kāśyapa, Avatsara Naidhruva	
Puri copper plate Inscription of Ganga Bhanu II, *JASB*, XVII, pp. 19-26, A.D. 1312	Vātsa		Bhārgava, Chyavana, Apanuvat, Arūva, Jāmādagnya	Kaṇava branch of Yajurveda
	Puṭimāsha			Śakala branch of Ṛgveda.
The Kenduli copper plate grant of Narasimhadeva IV, A.D. 1384, *OHRJ*, V, pp. 1-80.	Kauṇḍinya			Kaṇava branch of Yajurveda
Two grants of Raghudeva, AD 1456, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 1-18.	Kauṇḍinya			Yajurveda
A copper plate grant of Ganadeva of Kondavidu, A.D. 1457, *IA*, XX, pp. 390-93.	Kāśyapa, Śrivāsta Bharadvaja, Harita Gārgya, Kauṇḍinya Atrya			Yajuh
Veligalani grant	Kāśyapa, Amgirasa			Ṛgveda,

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References	*Gōtras*	*Pravaras*	*Charaṇas*	*Śākhas*
of Kapilesvara, A.D. 1458, *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 275-291.	Bharadvāja, Śrivāsta, Kāśyapa, Kauṣika, Kauṇḍinya, Vedhuḷa, Gārgya, Atreya, Gautama			Yajurveda
Chiruvroli grant of Hambira, A.D. 1468, *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 177-188	Kāśyapa, Atreya, Harita, Kauṣika, Bharadvāja, Kauṇḍinya, Lauhitya, Kutsa, Śrīvasta, Gautama			Yajus, Agraveda, Bahuricha
Velicherla grant of Prataprudra Gajapati, A.D. 1511, *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 205-211.	Bhāradvāja			Yajus Śākha

(iii) *Functions of the Brāhmaṇas*

(a) *Worship and performance of religious rites*: The main function performed by the brāhmaṇas were worship and performance of religious rites. The number of brāhmaṇas performing these functions must have been fairly large. They were getting land grants for worship in various temples for the attainment of religious merits of the donors.[14] The donors were generally kings, members of the royal family, officials and landed aristocrats. In this way they had acquired considerable property and prestige for their functions as priests.

The construction of numerous temples and religious establishments in this period may provide us an idea of the number of priests attached to these temples scattered in different parts of Orissa. Besides, their function as priests, they used to perform a number of social functions of vital importance like coronation ceremony of the rulers, marriage fixation, sacred thread ceremony and funerals etc. Kavi Viṣhṇu Dās in his *Kāvya Kaḷāvatī*[15], tells about a brāhmaṇa who mediates in a marriage settlement. Some of them have also adopted the profession of astrologer. The Orissa Museum plates[16] of Anangabhīmadeva III, record the names of some brāhmaṇa astrologers (*Sarvajña*).

There is every possibility that a small number of brāhmaṇas taking advantage of their birth, royal patronage and religious functions might have lived as parasites in the society.

(b) *Brāhmaṇa officials*: The territorial expansion of the Ganga and Gajapati empire led to the recruitment of a large number of brāhmaṇas for running the administrative machinery. The frequent mention of brāhmaṇa officials in the inscriptions shows that they formed the main bulk of officials in medieval Orissa. The Nagari plates[17] of Anangabhīmadeva III, dated A.D. 1231, refer to a brāhmaṇa

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officer Gangādhara Āchārya of *Puṭimāsha gōtra* who was serving as a *Śāsanādhikarin.* The Alalpur plates[18] of Narasimhadeva II, dated A.D. 1294, refer to a *Kōṣhādhyakṣha* named Halayudha who was a brāhmaṇa of *Vātsa gōtra* having the *Bhārgava, Chyvana, Apnuvat, Arūva, Jāmādagnya, Pravaras* and was a student of *Kanava* branch of *Yajurveda.* many such inscriptions show that the brāhmaṇas were holding a variety of official posts.

Sometimes the brāhmaṇas served as ministers. Narahari Tritha, the *Dvaita* pontiff, who is known from the inscriptions[19] at Simachalam and Srikurmam (A.D. 1261-1293) served as a regent during the minority of Bhānudeva I and later became his minister. The Gopinathapur inscription[20] refers to a prominent minister Gōpinātha Mahāpātra who served under king Kapiḷeśvaradeva and helped him to win wars against the Sultans of Bengal and Malwa. Both he and his elder brother Nārāyaṇa were the sons of the royal priest Lakṣhmaṇa Purōhita and were ministers under king Kapiḷeśvaradeva.[21]

Besides serving in the civil posts, they also served as successful military officers. The Dirghasi inscription[22], dated A.D. 1075, states that Bāṇapati defeated the rulers of Vengi, Utkala, Kimidi, Gidrisinghi and one Dāddarnava. He was the son of Gōkarṇa, a brāhmana of *Atreya gōtra.* He came from a hereditary family of *pratihāras.*

(c) *Education and learning*: Education and learning were also important functions of brāhmaṇas. Many inscriptions refer to them who were conversant with the *Vedas* and *Śāstras.* Some of them were attached to the educational institutions and monasteries for the purpose of teaching being patronised and financed by the kings. The Orissa Museum plates[23] of Anangabhimadeva III, refer to a *maṭha* where the *Vedas, Vyākaraṇas* and *Purāṇas* were taught and also record the grant of nine *vātis* of land grant for its maintenance.

A number of brāhmaṇa scholars adorned the court of the Ganga and Gajapati kings. Viśvanātha Kavirāj and Yōgiśvara Pātra were famous court poets in the time of the Gangas.[24] Three reputed scholars namely Jaḷeśvara Miśra, Nārāyana Miśra and Narasimha Vājpeyi flourished during the reign of Kapiḷendradeva[25]. Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadeva Āchārya who composed *Bhakti Bhāgavata* in Sanskrit was the spiritual guide of the Gajapati king Pratāprudradeva. He obtained eight golden flywhisks, one golden umbrella and a drum as reward from the king for his contribution towards the cause of learning.[26]

(d) *Other professions: Agriculture, Trade* : Evidences of the period show that brāhmaṇas were engaged in other professions like agriculture and trade against the conduct mentioned for them in the *Dharmaśāstras.* In Northern India also, as stated by Ālberuni[27] (11th century A.D.), it is found that they traded in clothes and betel nuts through vaiśyas. It seems that some of the brāhmaṇas left their functions as priests and devoted themselves in agriculture as their number increased. Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābhārata*[28] says that Sureswara Panda

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was cultivating land by a daily labourer Tapati. Some of the brāhmaṇas were personally tilling the soil. *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa*[29] states that Santha Panda, a brāhmaṇa maintaining his family by gardening.

A group of brāhmaṇas also had adopted trade as their profession. Their number however, seems to be very small. It is interesting to note that though the sale of horse by brāhmaṇas was forbidden by Manu[30], a small group of brāhmaṇas practised it. Two inscriptions[31] from Srikurman, one in Telugu and the other in Oriya, dated A.D. 1402, refer to one Ṛiṣidanāyaka, son of Pragōdā Upādhyāya and grandson of Viṣṇudāśa Upādhyāya was a trader in horses (*Ghōdā vānijara*) and a Kaḷinga *vyāpāri*. This type of trade in horses by brāhmaṇas was prevalent in northern India also.[32]

Some of the brāhmaṇas had also taken the profession of masonry. The Sobhaneśwara inscription[33] of Śrivaidyanātha, states that Sāvaṇa, a brāhmaṇa by caste was a great artist who constructed the Śiva temple.

The above discussions show that the brāhmaṇas played a vital role in medieval Orissa. They introduced the Vedic culture, Sanskrit education and learning and contributed to the material prosperity of the people. They also proved eligible for administrative machinery and served in various posts for collection of taxes and maintenance of law and order. However, later on some changes in the profession of brāhmaṇas could be traced. The process of grant of land to brāhmaṇas helped to bring the land under cultivation. Subsequent the number of brāhmabas went on increasing possibly because some of them had left their religious functions and turned to agricultural activities.

In the tribal areas, like Bhūm territories they brought the local chiefs in the forfold of kṣhatriyahood[34]. They connected the ruling chiefs with the illustrious Rajput class of North-Western India by making mythological and fictitious genealogy. The spread the brahmanical rites such as initiation with the sacred thread, observance of the Vedic rituals in marriage and funeral rites, maintenance of Hindu idols and temples. They also associated themselves with the celebration of various festivals. They introduced various taboos such as avoidance of food like beef, pork and chicken, restriction on the freedom of the women folk in movement and in forms of marriage, avoidance of practice of widow remarriage.

Kṣtriyas

Kṣatriyas a caste are rarely mentioned in the Orissan records. This might be because of the fact that the practice of stating their caste was not popular during this period. The Kṣatriyas mainly consisted of the royal family and state officials. They were next to the brāhmaṇas in importance and status in social hierarchy.

The period marks the genesis of the process of kṣatriyaisation in Orissa. From the records we know that the Gaṅgas and Gajapatis were originally not kṣatriyas but later on they claimed the status of kṣatriyas.[35] The acceptance of

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kṣatriya status was essentially an attempt to prove status by birth and to acquire the appropriate and legitimate lineage. The earlier dynasties are all neatly classified into two categories: the Sūryavaṁśis and the Chandravaṁśis. This system became prototype of all rulers seeking kṣatriya genealogies, Gaṅgas and Gajapatis being no exception.

The Gaṅga rulers had materimonial relations with the Chōḷas, Chālukyas, Pallavas, Vaidumbas and Haihayas. The commemorative inscription[36] of Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar mentions that chandrikā, the daughter of Anaṅgabhīmadeva was married to Parmardi, a kṣatriya and the scion of Haihaya lineage. The Nagari plates[37] inform us that Mālahōnādevī, the queen of Rājarājadeva III was a princess of Chālukya dynasty. Rājasundarī, the mother of Chōḍagaṅgadeva was a Chōḷa princess.[38] Thus we find that the Gaṅgas, whatever their origin, later on kṣatriyaized themselves.

H. Kulke[39] is of opinion that the model of kṣatriyaisation in Orissa adopted by the political authorities after the downfall of the central Hindu dynasty in A.D. 1540-1568. But the process of kṣatriyaisation started in Orissa as early as 7th century A.D. Several dynasties of Orissa, such as the Bhañja and Tuṅga were founded by local chiefs and improvised into respectable kṣatriyas by brahmanical associations.[40] Thus, it seems that many aboriginal chiefs were raised to the position of kṣatriyas due to the tendency of upward mobility in the caste structure.

It is generally believed that between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries tribal kingdoms in the forest tracts emerged under the ksatriya princes who traced their origin for the lunar Rajput princes of Western India.[41] The ethnic and archaeological evidences amply prove that the local princes like the Tuṅgas and Bhañjas were operative within the expanding Gajapati empire of Orissa. Even now the pockets of brāhmaṇa villages in the forest tracts with Bhūm suffix had population from Orissa who conform to the religious festivities like *Ratha Yātra* as well as hymns and religious customs of Orissa.

The local militia of this period consisted of Pāikas or Khaṇḍāyatas.[42] They actually belonged to the cultivating class. They used to cultivate land in peace time and took weapons at times of war. In addition, the tribals who took part in wars later claimed the status equivalent to the militia cultivator caste of Khaṇḍāyat and were assimilated in the process of kṣatriyaization.

Many important military and civil officers were held by the kṣatriyas. The Puri inscription[43] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, dated A.D. 1225, refers to an officer named Śūrasenāpati who might be a kṣatriya official. From the official designation of Senāpati it appears that he was an army official. It never implies his caste and origin. Perhaps, except the brāhmaṇas it was not a general practice to mention the caste of kṣatriyas. The Bhubaneswar inscription[44] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, dated A.D. 1238, refers to a similar officer named Gōvinda Senāpati, son of Gāveka Senādhyakṣha. It seems that he was a kṣatriya official.

Besides the military function, the law digests allowed the kṣatriyas to

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follow the profession of an agriculturist only in times of necessity.[45] In the 15th century some of the kṣatriyas have taken agriculture as their profession in Orissa. Sarala Dasa[46] says that king Daradasena maintained his army for twelve years by the support of agriculture.

Karaṇas: Kāyasthas

The constant transfer of land and land revenue to brāhmaṇas, officials and temples from the Gupta period onwards led to the growth of a scribe or kāyastha community. A large number of writers and record keepers had to be employed to draft documents of the land and villages. Frequent transfer of land needed careful recording in order to avoid and settle land disputes. This whole work was done by a class of writers who were known by various names such as *Kāyastha, Karaṇa, Karnika, Adhikarta, Pastāpāla, Lekhaka, Dharmalekhin, Akaṣapaṭalika* and *Akṣapaṭalidhikṛta*.[47] In the initial stage literate members of the higher *varṇas* were recruited as kāyastha or scribes to meet the fiscal and administrative need of the state. But gradually the scribes were recruited from different *varṇas* like śūdras and vaiśyas.

In Orissa, from about 10th century A.D. Kāyasthas came to exist as a caste. The Dasapalla grant[48] of the Naṇḍa king Devānaṇḍa II of the 11th century refers to a Kāyastha minister. In the later Gaṅga period they were such a dominating caste in Orissa that they adopted local names as karaṇas. Some rose to high positions, received land grants and held feudatory status. The Parlakimedi plates[49] of the time of Vajrahasta V, assigned to 11th century A.D. mention a person from a kāyastha caste rising to the status of a minister. It states that the messenger of the grant was Vachchpayya of the kayastha family who enjoyed the status of a minister of the feudatory lord Darparāya.

The kāyasthas in Orissa belonged to the *kāśyapa gōtra* is known from the Arasavalli plates[50] of Vajrahasta III, dated A.D. 1060. It registers the grant of a village Arisavalli to Siriyāpa Nāyak, Vāji-Nāyak, Guṇḍamā Nāyaka and Namkāna Nāyak, sons of Nādupana Nāyaka a kāyastha of *kāśyapa gōtra*.

The functions of the kāyasthas were not only to write documents but they were also in-charge of records, accounts and revenue departments. Besides this, they were appointed as ministers, high royal executives and sometimes probably commanders of army. During the reign of Vajrahasta V, a lady named Guṇḍanā Nāyaki who endowed fifty sheep for burning a perpetual lamp in honour of God Madhukeśwara, describes herself as belonging to a kāyastha family and wife of the king's commander Mādhuriā.[51]

Individuals belonging to the kāyastha caste also played a noticeable role in the sphere of learning and literature and the achievements of few of them are recorded in some of the inscriptions. Tathagatarakṣita[52], who belonged to Orissa a physician by profession and kāyastha by caste. He was a reputed professor of tantra in the Vikramśilā University during this period.

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The official positions of the kāyasthas, especially in the village and local administration, later on appear to have become hereditary and crystallised into as many sub-castes according to their functional titles and called at the present day as Śrīkaraṇa, Pattanayaka, Mohanty, Qanungo, Dandapata etc.

Vaiśyas

Vaiśyas formed a small community in medieval Orissa. The inscriptions show that some vaiśya *agrāhara* villages were established by the rulers. The Chicacole coper plate grant[53] of Madhukamarnava, dated A.D. 1024, records the organisation of a Vaiśya - *agrāhara* by uniting Pōtagrāma Hōṇḍārabāda and Mōrōkhini villages. Perhaps these villages were established for a community of professional people to fulfil the economic need of the society.

Agriculture and trading were the main activities of the vaiśyas. The *śreṣthis* might have belonged to this community and played a main role in trade and commerce of medieval Orissa. The rural markets were also organised by the vaiśyas. In the *haṭṭas*, it is found that many sub-castes of vaiśya community transacting the business. The Nagari plates[54] of Anaṅgabhimadeva, dated A.D. 1230, records a list of vaiśya traders. They were a perfumer (*gandhika*), a worker or dealer in conchshells (*saṅkhika*), a goldsmith (*svarṇakara*) and a brazier (*kaṁsayika*). The economic condition of the vaiśyas seemed to be very sound. They were rich enough to donate land to brāhmaṇas and temples. The Chikkavalasa plates[55] of Vajrahasta III, dated A.D. 1059, mention the gift of a land to a brāhmaṇa by a śresthin named Mallaya.

In spite of sound condition of some vaiśyas, the period marks the decline of the community. Some of the *Smṛti* texts[56] *Gṛhastha-Kāṇḍa* and *Mitākṣara* prescribed more or less same occupation for both the vaiśyas and śūdras. This might be due to the improvement in the social and economic status of the śūdras. As a result, some of the vaiśyas might have left their traditional profession. An epigraphic record[57] at Simhachalam, dated A.D. 1382, mentions one Gurudās of *Vaiśvakuḷa* serving as a *Mahāsenāpati*. The Ganjam plate[58] of Vajrahasta III, dated A.D. 1068, records donation of a village to Gōkana Nāyaka a *vaiśya vaṁsōdbhaya*. The title Nāyaka shows that he was an army official.

Śūdras

The śūdras were numerous and belonged to the lowest stratum of the society. They were not a homogenous caste but comprised of agricultural and petty peasants, artisans, craftsmen, manual workers, servants, attendants and those following low occupations.

Despite various disabilities imposed by the *Smṛti* literature, the economic condition of the śūdras was a remarkable feature of the society. Many śūdras were promoted to the kṣatriya status and many of them were claimed the status

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of a vaiśya. The Arasavalli plates[59] of Vajrahasta refer to a military officer (*Nāyaka*) who was a śūdra. The artisans and the craftsman who occupied the low status from the early times[60], got a higher status patronised by the rulers in this period. Many of the śūdra menial labourers were attached to the temples for the service of the god. A stone inscription[61] of Gōvinda Senāpati registers grant of land to a group of persons for their daily service to the temple like sweeping, limewashing and supply of earthen pots.

According to traditional view, śūdras were not allowed to study the *Vedas, Smṛti,* and *Purāṇas.*[62] But śūdras of the medieval Orissa occupied an important place in the sphere of education and learning. Sarala Dasa[63] a śūdra agriculturist has composed *Māhābharata,* a monumental work in Oriya literature. Balaram Dasa[64] another śūdra poet has composed Oriya *Rāmāyaṇa.*

A section of the people called *hāḍi, dōmba, chaṇḍāla* who were cleaning villages and engaged in other dirty services were treated as untouchables. The washermen (*rajaka*), shoemaker (*charmakāra*), fishermen (*kaivartta*), hunters (*śavaras*), basket makers (*dōmbi*) belonged to this category. Generally they were treated as outcastes in the society and lived outside the villages.

With the rise of different threads of religious movements like Śakta-tantric cults and Nāth cult, some śūdras have gave up their duty of service and turned into wandering mendicants. Many tantric teachers and *Siḍḍhachāryas* of the medieval period were from fishermen, leather worker, woodworker and dōmba communities.[65]

It has already been seen that caste as a function hardly existed in medieval Orissa. Profession was not restricted to the castes. The people of lower castes were doing duties of higher castes. So the occupational mobility was not unknown in medieval Orissa. From the evidences furnished by the work of the Oriya poet Sarala Dasa, it appears that groups of people from the pastoral caste could switch over to agriculture. Similarly śūdras were represented as agriculturists which indicates that some of the śūdras and aboriginals like *hāḍi, chaṇḍālas,* have abondoned their respective traditional occupations and restored to agriculture as a new sub-caste or castes.

These examples of occupational mobility indicate that agriculture was the refuse for the spill overs from other functional castes. It is perhaps mainly due to the availability of potential arable land and even perhaps a favourable man-land ratio.

Aborigines and Tribals

Orissa is mainly a tribal populated state. Except the coastal districts Puri, Cuttack and Balasore, other districts are populated by the tribals. The *Charjya*[66] poems of the Oriya *Vajrajāna Siddhas,* which are said to have been composed from 9th to 13th century A.D. mention the tribals like dōmbs, śabaras and bhils. The Narasimhapur charter[67] of the Śomavaṁśī king Udyōtakeśarī Mahābhavagupta

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IV, of the 11th century A.D., refers to the habitation of a dominating caste of the aboriginals termed as śabaras in Orissa.

Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata*[68] provides sufficient information about the life of the tribals in then Orissa. In the *sabhā parva* he has described about the meeting of Śrīkṛṣṇa with a Kaṇḍha (Khond) king Bhaṣkara. He was wearing various ornaments like *toḍa, jagudāḷa, ratnamāḷa* and *karṅaphula*. Krishna requested him to supply deer, wild pig and rhinoceros' meat for the *rājasūya* ceremony.

The life-style of the tribals can be understood from the *Charjyā Gītikās*.[69] Śavaramen put on tiger skins and adroned their bodies with feather of peacock, necklaces and earnings of guñja fruits. They dwelt far away from the human habitation. Drinking was their usual habit. Hunting was their main occupation and used to go to distant places in search of animals. Sarala Dasa[70] has depicted the life of the Śavaras in detail. They baked their food in fire, the practice which is still prevalent in the tribal communities of Orissa. Their festivals begin with the ripening of the *chinā, kagani* paddy.

This period marks the process of sanskritisation among the tribals. Tradition says that Lord Jagannatha first used to be worshipped by Śabaras.[71] His priest, belonged to a caste called *daitāpati* and is said to be descendants of the Śavaras who used to worship the deity in ancient times.[72] These *daitāpatis* has already entered into the Hindu caste system.

An instance of how the śavaras have merged with the Hindu is provided by the ancestry of the famous Tenā Śauri Khaṇḍāyats of Orissa.[73] Their ancestors are said to have been born of a king of Orissa by a Saora lady of Padmini class, whom he had married. This system of sanskritization among the tribals might have started from the Ganga period with the establishment of Lord Jagannātha as imperial deity.

Traces of Social Conflict

In the *varṇa* based society, the rise of the Kāyasthas or karaṇas as a group of professional elite caste undermined the monopoly of the brāhmaṇas as writers and scribes. Appointment of kāyastha ministers and officers naturally might have been resented by the brāhmaṇas who had monopolised such high offices. As ministers, scribes, record keepers, the kāyasthas must have caused constant troubles to the brāhmaṇas who formed a considerable class of donees, which might have brought a social tension among the two communities which lingers even to the present day in Orissa.

Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata*, which reflect the poets own day-to-day experiences as well as contemporary political and historical happenings, describes a battle between the brāhmaṇas and chaṇḍāḷas, in the *Ādiparva*.[74] Whatever may be the fact, the battle symbolises the eternal brāhmaṇa versus non-brāhmaṇa conflict in Orissa.

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The rise of Chaitanya movement also led to a social tension in the society. It increased in antagonism between the brāhmaṇas and the Chaitanyites. The brāhmaṇas as a class were always hostile to the rising tide of the cult of Chaitanya and some of their ceremonies. The *Panchasakhā* group of Vaiṣṇava poets by domination of the brāhmaṇas. Baḷarāma Dāsa in his *Vedāntasara Gupta Gītā*[75] and Achyutananda in his *Śūnya Saṁhitā*[76] has recounted how they were ill treated by the brāhmaṇas for their spiritual knowledge. In the Māḷikas[77] (prophecies) Achyutānanda Dāsa has written that in future the brāhmaṇas would deteriorate to the level of the śūdras. The great orthodox exponents of Chaitanya faith Ramananda, Śhyāmananda and Baḷadeva Vidyābhuṣana were non-brāhmaṇas and the brāhmaṇas might not have liked their dominance in the society.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Korosonda plates of Viśākhāvarman is the earliest land grant found in Orissa, *EI*, XXI, pp. 23-25.
2. Chapter I on, Geography and Patterns of settlement may be consulted.
3. Vide, Brahmanical settlements in Chapter I on Historical Geography.
4. F. Kielhorn, "Eulogy of Bhatta-Bhavadeva Balavalabhibhujaṅga", *EI*, VI, pp. 198-207
5. *EI*, XXXII, pp. 299 ff.
6. A.B. Mohanty, (ed.), p. 34.
7. K.C. Mishra, *The Cult of Jagannatha*, p. 86.
8. A.K. Majumdar, *Chaitanya, His Life and Doctrine: A Study in Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 160, 196.
9. *Matsya Purāṇa* (Vangavasi Press), XVI, 16.
10. *EI*, XXXII, pp. 29 ff.
11. The brāhmaṇas of Bengal were divided into two sections Rāḍhiya and Varendra according to their place of residence. R.C. Majumder, *History of Bengal*, pp. 580 ff.
12. John Brough, *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara*, p. 2.
13. *ibid.*
14. For details see, Land grants to brāhmaṇas and temples.
15. K.N. Mahapatra, ed. pp. 4-7.
16. *OHRJ*, XII, pp. 164-96.
17. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
18. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 17-24.
19. *ibid*, VI, p. 226.
20. *JASB*, LXII, pp. 175 ff.
21. *ibid.*
22. *EI*, IV, pp. 314-18.
23. *OHRJ*, XII, pp. 164-96.
24. H.K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, pp. 258-59.
25. K.N. Mahapatra, ed. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, I, p. XVII.
26. D.C. Sircar, "A manuscript of Jivadeva's Bhaktivaibhava", *Indian Studies, Past and Present*, IV, no. 1, (1962), pp. 105-10.
27. E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 132.
28. *Svargarohana Parva*, p. 2.
29. *Laṅkā Kāṇda*, p. 205.
30. *Manu*, X, 89.
31. *SII*, V, nos. 1080, 1176.

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32. The Pehoa inscription of the ninth century A.D. records that Vamuka, the son of Bhatta Viruka, a horse dealer assembled in the town of Prithdaka, *EI*, I, p. 184.
33. *IO*, III, pt. 2, no. 280, p. 347.
34. Surjit Sinha, "State Formation and Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India," *Man in India*, XLII (1962), pp. 35-80.
35. *JAHRS*, VI, p. 214.
36. *OHRJ*, I, p. 283.
37. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 253.
38. Komi copper plate grant of Chōḷagaṅgadeva, *JAHRS*, I, pp. 106-24.
39. "Kṣatriyaization and Social Change : A Study in Orissa Setting", S. Devidas Pillai, (ed.) *Aspects of Changing India*, pp. 398-409.
40. *JIH*, XXXIX, p. 303.
41. Surjit Sinha, *op. cit.*
42. Khaṇḍāyats constituted a militia caste of Orissa whereas the Pāikas were of cultivator class served in times of war.
43. *EI*, XXX, pp. 197-203.
44. *ibid*, pp. 17-23.
45. *Manu*, X, 83.
46. *Sabha Parva*, p. 142.
47. R.S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India*, p. 16
48. *EI*, XXIX, pp. 188-89.
49. *ibid*, III, p. 224.
50. *EI*, XXXII, pp. 311-16.
51. *JAHRS*, VI, p. 208.
52. P. Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 91; R.K. Mukherjee, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 59.
53. *JBORS*, XVIII, pp. 272-75.
54. *EI*, XXVIII, pp.. 235-58.
55. *ibid*, XXXIII, pp. 145-46.
56. Devala quoted in *Grhastha kānda* of the *Krtyakalpatarū*, p. 225, *Grhstha-ratnākara* of çandeśvara, p. 470.
57. *SII*, VI, p. 835.
58. *Bharati*, Feb. (1935), pp. 305 ff.
59. *EI*, XXXII, pp. 311-16.
60. R. Fick, *Social Organisation in North East India*, p. 285.
61. *OHRJ*, II, nos. 3-4, pp. 46-48.
62. P.V. Kane, *History of the Dharmasastras*, II, pt. 1, pp. 154, 156.
63. Sarala Dasa has written that he belonged to Sudra community and agriculture was his profession. *Madhya Parva*, p. 161.
64. S.N. Das, *Oḍiyā Sāhityara Itihāsa*, pt. I, p. 374.
65. The composer of the Charyāpadas were Dōmbipā, Tantipā, Sabarapā, Luipā, etc. which suggest that they belonged to low caste, *Charyā Gītikā*, p. 8.
66. *Charyā Gītikā*, pp. 80, 83, 84, 99.
67. *JBORS*, XVII, pt. I, p. 16.
68. *Sabhā Parva*, p. 604.
69. *op. cit.*, *Gītikā* no. 28.
70. *op. cit.*, p. 604.
71. vide, *Deuḷa Tōḷā Suāṅga* by Krishna Dasa.
72. *ibid.*
73. G. Mohanty, "Fading outlines in Tribal Culture", *Adivasi*, III, (1963-64); pp. 25-38.
74. In this regard Sarala Dasa has given a story about the causes of the brāhmaṇa and chaṇḍāḷa conflict. M. Mansinha, *History of Oriya Literature*, p. 61.
75. *Vedāntasara Gupta Gita*, XXIX.
76. *Sūnya Saṁhitā*, IX.
77. M. Mansinha, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

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EIGHT

Social and Cultural Life

General Nature of the People

The general nature of the people of Orissa can be gathered from the accounts of foreign travellers who visited Orissa and adjoining states during the medieval periods. The Chinese traveller who visited Orissa as early as in the 7th century A.D., has described the nature of the people of Oḍra, Kaṅgōda, Kaliṅga and Kōśala. About the people of Oḍra he says that the climate was hot, the people were violent and tall. Their complexion was dark and speech and manners different from the people of Mid-India[1]. The people of Kaṅgōda, "were tall and valorous and of a black complexion having some sense of propriety and not very deceitful"[2]. The Kalingans "were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech, in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from 'Mid-India'."[3] The people of South Kośāla were prosperous, tall statured and black in colour .[4] The same type of descriptions can be gathered from the accounts of travellers in later period. Durate Barbosa and Paes the Portuguese travellers who visited Vijayanagar empire from A.D. 1510 to 1515 and A.D. 1520 to 1522 have given some stray references about the people of Orissa. Barbosa writes[5], the people "very seldom are at peace" and "there are but few moors and they are good fighting men". Nuniz[6] also says, "the population there is of light coloured and the men are of good physique." King Naḷa in his *Viśāladeva rāsō*[7] (13th century A.D.) has referred to the people of Orissa. He states that *Pūrbiyās* (Oriyas) of the eastern country take betel, bedeck their bodies flowers and eat rice. They are very miserly gathering the particles of rice and they are too clever.

Joys and Festivals

The description of festivals in contemporary digests show that the people in medieval Orissa were engrossed with various festivals throughout the year.

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The festivals were connected with various religious practices and rituals in Orissa associated with the sects of Śaivism, Vaiṣnavism, Śaktism and Jagannātha cult. The rituals and religious practices mentioned in the literature have their distinctive forms separating themselves from the religious festivals of the rest of Northern India.[8]

The festivals of Orissa may be studied under two different groups; one regulating the private life of an individual known as *vratas* (vows), *upavāsa* (fasts) and *jāgaraṇa* (vigils). The other group is connected with the community or public life known as *meḷā, meḷaṇa,* and *jātrā* (fairs). Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābhārata* and Balaram Dasa in his *Rāmāyaṇa* referred to many religious festivals in Orissa and put forth some festivals as a manifestation of Hindu life. An individual in order to become a devoted Hindu was required to observe some of these important festivals in order to liberate his soul from the bondage of human sufferings for ever and to attain the final bliss of *Mōksha* according to the four-fold aims (*chaturbarga*) of life.

The festivals regulating the private life of an individual were of various kinds. In the vernacular epics there are frequent references of *Ekādaśī Vṛata*,[9] *Hari Sanyāsī Ekādaśī*[10], *Sudarśā vṛata*[11], *Kartika vrata*[12], *Kāmākṣhī vrata*[13] etc. These *vratas* were generally observed by married women in order to bring prosperity to their husbands and family. The *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa*[14] refers to the festivals like the *Śiva Chaturdaśī, Āśvina Śukḷa Navamī, Māghasaptamī, Ekādaśīs* and *Saṁkrāntis.*

The religious rituals of the community life revolved around the Jagannāth cult which was considered since the 12th century as the deity (*Rāṣtra devata*) of the newly emerged emp:re as the symbol of the martial power of the agrarian community of Orissa. The festivals connected with the public life were mainly *Rathayātrā*[15], *Chandanayātrā*[16], *Kumāra Purnimā*[17] and *Durgā pūjā.*[18] The *Ratha yātra* or the famous car festival of Lord Jagannātha was one of the most important festivals of Orissa as it is also of to-day's life. There was another festival connected with the Rathyātra known as Bāhuḍā Daśamī. On this day Lord Jagannātha returns from the temple of Guṇḍichā and enters his main temple. Besides this, a number of other festivals were observed in connection with the god Jagannātha as it continues upto the present day. They are *Snānayātrā, Sayana utsava, Dakshināyanayatrā, Jhulanayātrā, Pārsaparivartanayātrā, Puṣyabhiṣekha* and *Uttarāyanayātrā*[19] etc.

Śivarātrī was another important festival connected with the cult of Lord Śiva. On that day people observe fasting and vigil.[20] The main centre of this festival was Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar.

In the festival days people used to enjoy different games both indoor and outdoor. Dice (*paśā*) was one of the favourite indoor game of the elite section of the society. Sarala Dasa[21] has frequently mentioned this game being played by royal people. Viśvanātha Kavirāj[22] and Jagannātha Dāsa[23] have referred to the dice play in Orissa. *Jhimenikhela*, an outdoor game, which is the same as

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the modern kabadi was appreciated by the princes. In this regard Sarala Dasa has given the evidence of games being played between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas[24]. It might have also been prevalent among the village folks. Wrestling and duels were another form of entertainment. In course of describing the games, Sarala Dasa referred to the wrestling between Bhimasena and Prasedi Malla.[25]

Music, Dance and Drama

The role of music, dance and drama occupied an important place in the life of medieval Orissa. This tradition continued since ancient times.[26] In the early part of 12th century, a greater emphasis was put by the Gaṅga monarchs on performance of music and dance in the religious shrines, with the construction of three chambered porch or *nāṭa maṇḍapa* in the temples of Orissa. The *maṇḍapa* utilised for dance and music performances by the dancers (*devadāsis*) and musicians in the temples, to perpituate the presiding deities.

Orissa had evolved her separate school of dance with music which is known as 'Oḍissi' today. The *devadāsis* (temple dancers) were the real exponents of this dance. Jayadeva, the great Sanskrit poet inspired the dance by composing songs for Oḍissi dance. It seems that the dance had attained its perfection by the 13th century A.D. when Narasiṁhadeva constructed the Sun temple at Konark. The surface of the *nāṭamaṇḍapa* covered with the carvings of hundreds of dancing girls and their musicians, depicting the entire dance art of Orissa in its different poses and styles.[27]

Many Sanskrit dramas were also composed during this period and were staged on different occasions. Among them mention may be made of Visvanātha Kavirāj's *Chandrakaḷā Nāṭikā*, Kapilendra Deva's *Parsuram Vijaya* and Purusottamadeva's *Abhinava Beṇi Saṁhara.*[28] *Chandrakaḷā Nāṭikā* was staged on the occasion of the victory of Bhānudeva IV, against the Muslims and the emperor himself witnessed the drama.[29]

Besides the Konark temple, the Rajarani temple carries numerous beautiful dance sculptures.[30] The Lingaraj and Jagannatha temples and their numerous subsidiary shrines are adorned with dance sculptures, mostly female, i.e., *apsarās, nayikās* and *mithuna* couples.[31]

The dancers were called *viḷāsiṇis* as known from the Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata.*[32] In the *Vana Parva* there is also description of different types of dance postures and music.[33]

Dance is always connected with music and musicians. Different types of musical instruments were used by the musicians. Numerous sculptures representing music instruments are found in the walls of Konark, Puri and Bhubaneswar temples. S. Ratha Sharma[34] has catalouged as many as twenty nine types of musical instruments from the temple sculptures of Orissa.

Besides, in music and dance, the instruments were used at the time of marriage ceremonies and wars. *Chāṭa Echāvati*[35] of Banamali Das (16th century

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A.D.) refers to musical instruments used in marriage ceremony are *Tamaka, Nisāṇi, Bheri, Śankha, Mṛduḷa* and *Mahuri*, Kavi Narasimhasena in his *Parimaḷa*[36] (A.D. 1530-1540) cited the musical instruments such as *Mṛidanga, Bansī, Kaysaḷa, Dōsari, Kāhāḷa* and *Upānga*. Musicians formed a separate group of professional people for entertainment of the people and were attached to temples and the royal courts.

Food and Drinks

The agricultural products of Orissa governed the food habits of the people. Rice was the staple food of Orissa as it is today. A kind of boiled rice was taken by the people mixed with water known as *pakhāḷa*. Kavi Arjuna Das[37] in his *Kaḷpalatā* (A.D. 1520-1530) mentions the consumption of *pakhāḷa*. Even today it is a favourite diet among the village folks of Orissa. Besides rice, wheat and barley were also consumed by the people,[38] but they were not so popular like rice.

Curiously enough the inscriptions of Orissa do not refer to the production of pulses. But it is known from Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata* that arhara was produced in Orissa.[39] It seems that consumption of pulses was not so popular in the then Orissa.

Sweets, cakes and milk preparations were common food items among the higher sections of the society. A special kind of delicious food *kheer* was very popular and was offered to the deities.[40] Among the sweets sōmaḷaḍu, Bōkalaḍu were popular.[41] Fruits were also grown abundantly in Orissa. Mention can be made of plantain, coconut, jack fruit, mango, orange and lemon.[42] The *Bratakathas*[43] refer to the preparations of various dishes as offering to God in Nāgal Chauthi day. They are fruits like sugarcane, banana, coconuts, arecanuts and preparations like rice-pops (*liā*), rice pop-balls and sesame sweet balls. Even now in Orissa, people prepare such type of food on the festival days.

Except the brāhmaṇas, non-vegetarian food was taken by other people. Hunting of animals was a pleasure game for the affluent people. There were also professional hunters who sold meat in the market.[44] Earlier inscriptions refer to the hunting rights of the donee.[45] Tribal people people like śavaras generally were engaged in this business.[46] Fish was also a favourite diet among the people. A group of people known as kaivarttas were engaged in the profession of catching fish. They were attached to the villages to supply fish to cater the need of the people.[47]

Maṇḍia and Chinā, a kind of staple food was produced in the tribal areas of Orissa. It was generally taken by the tribals and rural folks. *Charyā padas*[48] refers to the production of māṇḍia and chinā by śavaras. Now-a-days also māṇḍia is produced abundantly in tribal areas of Orissa.

It seems that drinking of wine was restricted in the society. Though the earlier inscriptions refer to the distillers (*sauṇḍhikas*).[49] any inscriptional references

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to *saundikas* during this period is not traceable. There are references to the drinking scenes in the *Mahābhārata* but it cannot positively be said that it was popular in the society. People addicted to drinking were regarded as outcastes in the society. The Buddhist tantrikas used to take wine as a part of their religious practice. As a result and also in reaction to this immoral practices of the Buddhist tantrikas social puritanism emerged. However, drinks were appreciated by people of the lower sections of the society and tribals as depicted in the *Charyāpadas.*[50]

Position of Women

The period marks the decline in the status of women in the society. The women during this period were more attached to the family. They were not taking any active part in state's affairs. In the early period, the royal queens of Bhaumakara dynasty were ascending to the thrones and used to govern the country[51], but the queens of the Gaṅga and Gajapati dynasties never participated in the state's affairs. They were devoted more towards religious affairs than to meddling in the administrative work.

The role of women in the family can be known from the writings of Sarala Dasa. In the *Mahābhārata* he has depicted women as good housewives, their duty to maintain household, cooking, maintaining homely relation, teaching to children and to advise and help their husbands.[52] Further he has depicted their character with full of love, tenderness, co-operation, considerate forgiveness, devotion to husband, religious disposition, education and bravery.[53]

Śitā as an Oriya bride in Balaram Dasa's *Rāmāyana*[54] is a sad lovely faithful bride obeying her mother-in-law and silently bearing all scoldings. She cooks and serves the guests of her husband with the Oriya sweets and dishes.

A group of women were also depicted in literature as prostitutes. They took part in dance performances at public functions and marriages. It seems that they were living in the urban places. They were condemned by the society, hence, lived in the outskirts of the towns. Kavi Narasiṁha Sena in the kāvya *Parimaḷa*[55] (A.D. 1530-1540) has written about the dark qualities of the prostitutes.

The evils of *sati* system was not rigidly practised in the then Orissa. The literature give some stray references to this practice. The heroine of Arjuna Dasa's *Kaḷpalatā*[56] attained *sati* after the death of her husband. Sarala Dasa has praised the *sati* women and condemned those who did not die on the funeral pyre of their husbands.[57] It seems that people had a high regard to the sati practice. But in *Mahābhārata* many women can be seen living after the death of their husbands. Also, during the Bhauma-kara and Sōmavaṁśi periods, many queens were surviving after the death of their husbands. Thus it may be agreed that possibly the *sati* practice was not strictly followed in the society.

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Dress

The sculptures of the period depict the types of dresses used by the people. Male folk generally wore *dhōti* as under-garment and *chadar* as upper garment. The image of Kārtikeya in the temple of Bhubaneswar, depicts a *dhōti* tied firmly round the waist.[58] The *chadar* or scurf also figures abundantly on the sculptures of Bhubaneswar. Sarala Dasa[59] has also referred the *dhōti* and scurf (*gāmuchā*) as the dress of the male folks.

Women used to wear *sārees* of different varieties. The royal and aristocrat women of the affluent families were using linen clothes.[60] Some of the sculptures at Vaital temple[61] show that the *sārees* of women did not cover the upper part of the body, which remained exposed though sometimes it was partially covered by a narrow scurf. The breast was covered by a *chauli* or a bodice. But this cannot be taken as the general dress of the women in Orissa. These sculptures might have represented the dancers or the women of the elite class of the people.

Needle stitched dresses were also used by the people. There are several representations of needle made dresses among the sculptures in the temples of Bhubaneswar. A horseman in the dancing hall of the great tower is dressed in a *jāma*.[62] Several figures on the Muktesvara temple (9th century A.D.) are dressed in petticoats held round the waist by a girdle.[63]

The dancing girls were dressed in a close fitting tunic or *pyjāma*. In the Vaital temple at Bhubaneswar (8th century A.D.), a dancing girl is seen dressed in this manner.[64] The use of veil or *pardāh* which was customary among the ladies of northern India was not practised in Orissa. The sculptures or the literatures never refer to the use of veils among the women-folk.

Ornaments

The literature and the inscriptions of Orissa during the period of this study frequently mention the ornaments of numerous varieties. Besides, the temples of Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark which reflect the cultural heritage of Orissa give evidences of numerous specimen of sculptures which survive in stone carvings upto the recent times.

The list of the ornaments provide by the inscriptions were meant for the deities of the temples and might be in vogue among the general people. Besides this, one may come across the costly ornaments which the well to do persons of the community alone could afford to wear. Some of the ornaments were used by both men and women. There were ornaments for every limb of the body. Sarala Dasa has given examples of different types of ornaments for all the parts of body.[65] Balaram Dasa also in his *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa*[66] has elaborately depicted the ornaments. The description of ornaments is generally found at the time of marriage as both bride and bridegroom were required to wear ornaments in different parts of their body on that occasion.

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Crown is a common head ornament worn by the Goddess, kings and queens known as *mukuta*.[67] The richest crown is found to be worn by the Goddess Indrāṇī at Jajpur.[68] There were other varieties of ornaments worn by female folk on their hair and forehead known as *muktājāli*, a net of pearls.[69]

The ornaments meant for the ears of various designs were the most favourites among women. Ornaments like *kuṇḍala, nōḷi* were worn by both the sexes. In the female figure of Bhubaneswar temple these ornaments are peculiar and have been noticed in several figures. *Tāḍaki*,[70] a type of ear ring resembles a palm leaf and *kapā*[71] a flatshaped ornament was worn on the lower portion of the ear. The ornament for the upper portion of the ear was called *bentuḷa*.[72]

Both men and women adorned their arms and wrists with a number of ornaments. They were *baḷā, khaḍu, bāju, tāḍa, tāṭaṅka*, and *chuḍi, tadā*[73] and *khaḍu*[74] were popular and common ornaments. *churī*[75] is a kind of flat or broad bracelet made of metal and was used by women. *Śaṅkhās* (conch shell bangles) were also in use known from the inscriptions.[76] Various type of finger rings fitted with jewels, diamonds and sanctioned figures of fish and *tiḷaka* engraved on it were worn on the fingers.[77]

Neckleces of various kinds used by both sexes known as *muktāhāra*[78] and *ratnamāli*.[79] Balaram Dasa[80] has referred to the necklaces known as *saptaśārimōti, dōsāri sunāsutā, chepā sarī, niḷamaṇihāra, chausāra* and *ēk gōtiā mukuṭamaṇi māḷa*.

It seems that the use of ornaments for nose is a practice in Orissa of the later period. The use of nose ornaments in the temple sculptures could not be found. For the first time references to nose ornaments occured in the writings of Sarala Dasa. He has referred to two types of nose rings, *gajamōti* and *ratnaphula*.[81] Other varieties are *nākachaṇā, bāsaṇi, besara and triphula*.[82]

Like other ornaments, both sexes wore the girdles to decorate their waist. Because of its tight fitting the waist becomes slim which make people smart, active and beautiful. Various specimens of girdles in the temple sculptures of Bhubaneswar[83] show that it was an important ornament for both sexes. It was known as *kaṭimekhaḷā* or kati *kiṅkanimekhaḷā*.[84] Most favourite among the feet ornament was a chain band round the feet fringed with little bells or small metal shells filled with shots[85], which made a jingling sound when in motion.

Neither in the temple sculptures nor in literature, references to the ornaments of poor could be easily studied but it is inferred that the poor wore similar ornaments made of inferior metals like tin, copper and alloys like bronze and brass. The *Charyāpadas*[86] infrequently refer to the ornaments worn by the aboriginal tribes like the Śavaras and Bhills, such as necklaces of the strings of *gunj* fruits and ear-rings.

Marriage Customs

The literature of medieval Orissa refer to the marriage customs which was

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different from the customs of other states. Like Northern India child marriage was prevalent in the society. Sarala Dasa has given a number of instances of child marriage.[87] In his opinion the real marriagable age of a girl is seven.[88] It seems that in the royal families, the marriage was performed after the attainment of puberty. Gaṅga Devi in Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata* had married after puberty.[89] Princess Kaḷāvati,[90] Kaḷpalatā,[91] Parimaḷa[92] and Echhāvati[93] were all married at their matured age.

At the time of matrimonial selection a number of factors were taken into consideration like bride or bridegroom's *jāti, gōtra, kūḷa,* and *varṇa* and sometimes their educational attainments also.[94] Marriage was generally settled among their own *jāti.* After the marriage was negotiated, the astrologer fixed the auspicious date and time of the marriage.[95] Various decorations were made in the bride and bridegroom's houses with paintings, erection of gates (*tōraṇas*) with plantain trees and an audience hall, altar was eracted under the sāmiānās.[96] On the day of marriage the bridegroom comes to the house of the bride in a procession accompanied by dancers and musicians.[97] Different kinds of fire works *vāṇa, āsatabāji* were shown.[98] A picture of a marriage procession can be seen in the sculptures of Śiva's marriage in the Śhatrughaneśwar temple[99] (8th century A.D.). A number of customs were performed according to the Dharmaśāstra. They are *maṅgaḷana, bāṭavaraṇa, kanyādanā, lājahōma, besahapūjā, panchagrāsa, juākhela* and *chauṭhi.*[100] These customs are typical in the Oriya style of marriage which is prevalent upto the present times.

A form of marriage was prevalent in the medieval society, that of marriage of a widower who had lost more than one wife with a sahaḍa tree (Strebulus Asher). It is believed that, some bad omens were dominating his stars, which was the cause of his widowhood. In that case a marriage was arranged with a sāhāḍā tree with all customs and conventions. Sarala Dasa has also mentioned this type of marriages.[101]

The evils of dowry system owes its origin to this period. It was a custom to give dowry to the groom by the parents of bride. The literature vividly refers to this practice in medieval times. In the *Kalpalatā,*[102] *Parimaḷa,*[103] *Rāmabibhā,*[104] *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa*[105] and *Bhāgavata*[106] there are references to the presentation of dowry at the occasion of marriage. It seems that even the poor had to suffer by this practice known from Jambara's dowry presentation to King Bhāgyavāna referred to in Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata.*[107]

Popular Believes, Fatalism and Astrology

Many popular believes about omens were prevalent in the society. In *Parimaḷa*[108] one finds many references to the popular believes like crawling of some birds, movement of insects, dropping of objects and eye winking which were believed to be good and bad signs. People believed in the *tantras* and

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mantras for treatment of diseases. Water sanctified with *mantras* were taken by the people for treatment.[109]

The knowledge of *Tantra śāstra* which possibly descending to the people from the early times found a significant and improved role among the people. A group of people called *rāuḷa* have mastered the *tantra śāstra*.[110] People, like all the superstitious human beings of the world believed in ghosts and spirits.[111] Astrology was also of great importance in the life of the people. Astrologers were consulted on all occasions of social, community and religious rites and celebrations. At the time of marriage ceremony, at the date of starting cultivation by ploughing, for any social transactions, astrologers were consulted. They were settled in different villages as known from the inscriptions.[112]

Luxury and Standard of Morality

The literature of the period portray a glowing picture of the upper stratum of the society. The landed aristocrats, the merchants and higher official of the government all lived in comfort and luxury. The production of luxurious articles suggests that they were consumed by the aristocrats. The towns and cities of the period are described in some of the contemporary sources of that period. Shāms-i-Sirāj in his *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shahi*[113] gives a picture of the prosperity and happiness of the city of Jajnagar before it was invaded by Firūz Shāh in A.D. 1360. He writes, "the inhabitants had spacious houses and fine gardens, they had even gardens and walks within their houses and fruit trees, flowers were cultivated therein." The Nagari copper plate[114] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, dated A.D. 1230, states that the township of Nagarī (town) contained four houses resembling royal residences and endowed with walls *mukhamaṇḍapas* and *madhyamaṇḍapas* and also thirty other houses inhabited by a number of merchants. Kaṭaka, the capital city of the Gaṅgas and Gajapatis resembles Amarāvati, the city of Sakra (Indra) on the bank of the river Mahanadi.[115] The imaginary description in *Chandrakaḷā Nāṭikā*[116] gives an idea about the luxury of royal palace. The residential palace of the king, shining all round due to the lustre of innumerable jewels and thereby giving the illusion of the nether kingdom in size like the earth itself possessed by a shining mountain of gold, sweet smelling like things born in heaven due to the mass of flowers. The luxurious life of the military and other officials led to the defeat of Orissa. P. Mukherjee[117] rightly states that the people who plundered the wealth of the subjugated territories begun rolling in luxury and developed an aversion to military pursuits which led to the fall of Orissa in the hands of Afghans.

Towards the later part of the Gajapati rule bribery and corruption in the administrative machinery was rampant in the society.[118] Treachery of the military officials shows the weakening of the administration. Gōvinda Vidyādhara, one of the minister of Pratāprudradeva, treacherously joined hands with the enemies paving the way for the defeat of Orissa.[119]

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The rise of the Śakta-Tantric currents gave emphasis on the value of *kāma* or life of worldly pleasure. The *Charyāpadas*[120] describes the various sexual acts of the *Yōgis* and *Yoginis* as a means of spiritual attainment. The *Sahajiā* Vaiṣṇava cult also popularised the *rasa-kṛḍā* of Radha and Krishna, which had a tremendous impact upon the art and literature of the medieval Orissa. The evidence of gross sexual feelings in the sculptures of Konark and Jagannātha temple depicts the sexual acts in the varieties of poses and attitudes known to the *Kāmaśāstra*. But this portrayal of sexual postures might not be a direct reflection on the keen persuit of sensuous pleasure of life of the common mass of the people.

Similarly, the eroticism in literature reflects an amoral attitude towards life of the artists influenced by the tantra cults of the period though not a reflection of the moral standard of the people. Poets like Banamāḷi Dāsa[121], Vishṇu Dāsa,[122] Narasiṁha Sena,[123] Arjuna Dāsa,[124] describe freely the charms of sexual life and have taken every care to portray the minutest details of the feature of a beautiful woman. Jayadeva in his *Gīta Gōvinda* has described unhesitatingly the details of sexual love. Even Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābhārata* has tried to portray the sexual life.[125] The *Pancha Sakhā* group of poets popularised the Rādha Krishṇa cult through the Vaiṣnava literature to which M. Mansinha[126] writes, "the bad effects on the still vigorous literature of the Oriyas of the Chaitanyite philosophy with its sexological symbols and its sublimation of illegal love, become visible a little later, after the noble-hearted outpourings of the five comrades were expended and after Orissa ceased to be an independent central power." Thus literature of the period depicted a luxurious amoral life of the people at the upper stratum of the society which might have depleted their martial spirit paving way for Orissa's military defeat against the recurrent Muslim invasions.

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12. *Mbh., Ādi Parva*, p. 43.
13. *ibid, Madhya Parva*, p. 191.
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18. *ibid; Sabhā*, pp. 22-23.
19. K.C. Mishra, *The Cult of Jagannatha*, pp. 128-41.
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22. *Sahitya Darpana*, pp. 3, 26.
23. *Mahābharāta*, pp. 59-60; 88-89.
24. *Mbh. Ādi*, p. 124.
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31. ibid.
32. *Mbh. Sabhā*, p. 604.
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34. "Musical Instruments in Orissa Dance and Temple Sculpture," *Marg*, XIII, no. 2, pp. 40-43.
35. *op. cit.*, p. 63.
36. *op. cit.*, p. XXXIX.
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39. In the *Sabhā Parva* it is mentioned that King Viṣma supplied arhara to Bhima for his meals. *Mbh. Sabhā*, p. 58.
40. Bhakti Pradipa Tirtha, *Śrī Chaitanya Mahāprabhu*, p. 161.
41. *Chāṭa Echchāvali*, p. 5.
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44. *Mbh. Svargarōhana*, p. 9.
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46. *Mbh. Svargarōhana*, p. 9.
47. Nagari Plates, *op. cit.*
48. *op. cit.* p. 85.
49. Copper plate grant of Daṇḍi Mahādevi, *JBORS*, V. no. 4, pp. 564-77; and Kumurang Plate of Daṇḍi Mahādevi, B. Mishra, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.
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53. *ibid.*
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55. *op. cit.*, p. 43.
56. *op. cit.*, p. 91.
57. *Mbh. Drōṇa*, p. 54.
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70. *Mbh., Madhya*, p. 301.
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NINE

Literature, Learning and Education

Social changes during this period brought changes in the spheres of literature, learning and education. The traditional brahmanic learning which continued till the medieval period and mainly confined to the elite sections of the community marks its decline towards the 15th century A.D. As a common man's language, the Oriya script came into existence and a group of poets-cum religious reformers popularised the Oriya vernacular through their writings. The early Oriya literature was mainly the product of their missionary activities and was mainly connected with different religious movements which emerged as a consequence to the decline of Buddhism in Orissa. Thus, transformation in the literary language, religious sects and literature mirroring the religious treatises emanated from the changes in the setup of the period.

Sanskrit Learning

The Vedic learning in Sanskrit resulted in composition of an enormous amount of Sanskrit literature in Orissa. Families of brilliant scholars kept on producing works continuously for generations together. The scholars were patronised by the kings and they adorned the royal courts.

Jayadeva[1], one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of Orissa said to have adorned the court of Lakṣhmana Sena of Bengal (*c.* A.D. 1185-1205). He was the author of *Gīta Gōvinda,* a great work on Vaiṣṇavism which depicts the story of the divine love of Rādhā and Kriṣṇa. Intense earthly passion expresses the complex relationship of eternal love alliance between Kriṣṇa and his devotee. The poem elaborates variants on the theme of separated lovers passion and culminates in the ecstatic reunion of Rādhā and Kriṣṇa. It has tremendous impact on art, society and literature of Orissa. In the sculptures of the temples of Bhubaneswar and Konark one may come across erotic sculptures of various postures chiselled out by the artists with the theme of *Gīta Gōvinda.* According to tradition it was sung every day in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri as part of the ceremonial worship.

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Besides Jayadeva, a number of court poets flourished in Orissa. Several rhetorics (*Alankār Śastra*), poetry (*Kāvyas*) and dramas (*Nāṭakas*) were composed, many of which have not yet been discovered. Vidyādhara,[2] who adorned the court of Narasiṁhadeva I composed Ekāvali, a work on rhetoric. It is panegyric of Narasiṁha I highlighting his heroic deeds and achievements. Kavi Viśvanātha and Yōgiśvara Pātra were famous at the time of Bhānudeva IV. Yōgiśvara Pātra[3] composed *Dāna Dipāvali*. Kavi Viśvanātha[4] hailed from a learned family. His father Chandraśekhara was also a poet and composed *Puṣpamālā* and *Bhasarnava*. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, the court poet of Narasiṁhadeva was the grandfather of Viśvanātha. His works are *Sarvānga Sundari Tikā* and a commentary on *Gita Gōvinda*. Kavi Viśvanātha wrote *Rāghava Viḷās Mahākāvya, Kuvaḷasvā Charita Kāvya, Prabhāvati Pariṇaya Nāṭikā, Chandrakaḷā Nāṭikā, Praśasti Ratnāvali, Nārasiṁha Vijāya, Kāvya Prakāś Darpaṇa* and *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*. Among these works, *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* was the most outstanding composition of Viśvanātha.

Three reputed Sanskrit scholars Jaleśvara Miśra, Nārayaṇa Miśra and Nṛsiṁha Miśra Vājpeyi flourished during the reign of Sūryavaṁśi king Kapiḷendra Deva.[5] Nārāyaṇa Miśra wrote commentaries on *Parva Mimānsā* and *Uttara Mimānsā*, Jaleśvara Miśra compiled a *Sṃrti* digest called *Jaleśvara Paḍḍhati*. Narasiṁha Miśra Vājapeyi, a follower of *advaitavāda* of *Śankarācārya*, wrote a commentary on *Saṁṣepa Saririka* of Śri Śankara. Kavi Chandra Rāya Divākara, another poet compiled *Abhinava Gitagōvinda* and authored *Abhinava Beṇisaṁhāra*.

The Gajapati monarchs were also gifted with the knowledge of Sanskrit. Kapiḷendradeva credited with the composition of the drama *Parśurām Vijay*.[6] Puruṣōttama deva is known to have compiled the *Viṣṇubhakti, Kaḷpadṛuma, Dipikā Chhānda* and *Nāmamāḷikā*.[7] Pratāprudradeva has composed *Sarasvati Vilāśam* and *Pratāpa-martaṇḍa*.[8] Kavikarnapura[9] was a prominent scholar in the court of Pratāprudradeva and was author of *Chaitanya Chandrōdaya* and *Chaitanya Charitāmbṛita Kāvya*. Śri Jivadevāchārya, another luminary in the court of Pratāprudradeva was the author of *Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya*, the *Bhakti Uidbhaya* and *Utṣāvati*. Paṇḍita Godāvara Miśra was a versatile scholar and credited to have written *Yōga Chintāmaṇi, Advita Darpaṇa, Niti-Chintāmaṇi, Nitikaḷpalata, Sāmudrika Kāmadhenu, Tantra Chintāmaṇi* and *Adhikaraṇa Darpaṇa*. Kavi Chandra Rāya Divākara Miśra was honoured by Pratāprudra with the title of *Kavichandra* for his scholarship.[10] He was the author of *Abhinava Gitagōvinda, Dhṛuta Charita, Hari Charita Caṁpū, Pārijāta Haraṇa Nāṭaka* and *Rasamañjari*. Kavidiṇḍima Jivadeva Āchārya who composed *Bhaktibhāgavata* in Sanskrit, as the spiritual guide of Pratāprudradeva, obtained eight golden flywhisks, one golden umbrella and a drum as rewards from the king for his learning.[11]

Social Content of the Rise of Oriya Script and Literature

When the Sanskrit learning in Orissa was at its appex, a cultural revolution

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was taking place to replace Sanskrit learning by a vernacular script. With the decline of Buddhism the brahmanas emerged as an elite class and monopolised the Sanskrit learning and *Dharmaśāstras* which was inaccessible to the common people. The Muslim invasion in North India in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. and the establishment of Muslim kingdoms gave a setback to the power and position of the brāhmaṇas resulting in a new wave in the arena of regional languages and literature of India.

This period also marks the advent of great Hindu revivalists like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Mādhavāchārya who visited Puri (c. A.D. 1000-1500) and made it the centre for propagation of their faiths in Eastern India. But the main drawback of these revivalist movements were the use of Sanskrit as the vehicle of expression to which the common people had no access. The Buddhism had already declined, so the Vihāras, the Buddhist monasteries as centres of the Buddhist learning lost royal patronage known from the royal charters to the brāhmaṇas only. The masses of the people accepted the Hindu gods and goddesses in place of the Buddhist deities, in absence of a linguistic vehicle of the religion. The resentment of the common people was felt against the totalitarian domination of the Sanskrit as a vehicle for the elite class. A demand in favour of a common understandable language might have resulted in the formation of the Oriya script and language towards 13th century A.D. as a vehicle of literary expression. The first traces of Oriya script in transition could be studied from the inscriptions of Narasiṁhadeva (A.D. 1238-1264) before the full-fledged script comes into vogue.[12] The present round type of script took its shape during the reign of Sūryavaṁśī king Kapilendradeva. The Jayavijaya inscription[13] at Jagannātha temple and Gopinathpur inscription assigned to 15th century A.D. are the first of its kind depicting the Oriya script.

Early Oriya Literature

The earliest Oriya literatures are the product of mainly religious missionary activities. After the evolution of the Oriya script, it was used for the propagation of various religious faiths like Śaivism, Śhāktism, Nath cult and Vaiṣṇavism. The religious teachers of various groups composed texts of their faith in the Oriya dialect in order to popularise the language and made it accessible to the common folk. Here an attempt will be made to study some of the early Oriya works and their social contents.

Two of the earliest Oriya literatures are from the Natha religious sect. The are *Śiśuveda*[14] written by an annonymous author and *Saptāṅga*[15] written by a Nātha mendicant who dedicated it to his master Gōrakhanātha. *Śiśuveda,* Śaivite in content, dealing with the esoteric knowledge of Tantra have the shadow of Buddhist *apabhraṁśa* composition. *Rudrasudhānidhī*[16] of Nārāyaṇa Abdhutasvāmi is the earliest prose work in Oriya so far available. It seems that the author was a learned Śaivite itinerant mendicant, preacher in a maṭha trained

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in academies who had renounced the world. Contemporary to *Rudrasudhānidhi,* next in literary importance are the *Bratakathās* or the votive tales like *Sōmanātha Bratakathā*[17] and *Nāgala Chauthi katha.*[18] These prose tales centred round Śiva and his symbol.

Mādaḷā Pāñji[19], the chronicle of temple Jagannātha is the most controversial book in Oriya literature. It is called *mādaḷā* (drum) because of the drum like shape of the palm leaf manuscripts when bound together with strings. They are the records kept by the Orissan kings and still preserved in their pristine drum shapes. There is a difference of opinion among the scholars about the date and authenticity of *Mādaḷā Pāñji*[20]. K.B. Tripathy[21] says that the *pāñji* was compiled during the Sūryavaṁśi period, about 15th century A.D. There is no doubt that considering its language it might have been written during 16th century A.D. in the decline days of the Gajapatis. The *Pāñji* has two principal parts; one part deals with various festivals and ceremonies at the shrine of Jagannātha in detail. Even today, these ceremonies are followed literally. The other part of the *pāñji* relates to the activities of the ruling dynasties and individual rulers of Orissa, tracing back from the beginning of the creation on earth with no historical authenticity.

The *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā Dāsa[22] in Oriya is a unique literary achievement of medieval Orissa. The poet Sāraḷā Dāsa (c. A.D. 1435-1465) was born in a śūdra community in the village Jhaṅkaḍa. He was ignorant of Sanskrit and spoke himself as illiterate śūdra. He was never proud of himself as a writer without ascribing all that due to the grace of the goddess Sāraḷā. He painted the realistic life style of the then Oriya people. His world is that of rural peasantry. His hero and heroine are rural in character enjoying family life. He recreated the original epic characters ingrained on the soil of Orissa imbibing Oriya life style. Casting aside some original stories of Sanskrit *Mahābhārata,* he introduced many anecdotes. As he was born in a Śūdra family he had shown broad sympathies for the lowly and outcaste people depicting the character of Jārā-śavara and Ekalabya. He knew no society other than his own rural environment, a reflection of the then Oriya social life.

Towards the 16th century, there appeared in Orissa a group of poets-cum-religious reformers who were five in number and having been in close and intimate relationship generally known as *Pancha-sakhās* or five comrades.[23] They were Baḷarām Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa, Yōśavanta Dāsa and Achyuta Dāsa. Chaitanya, the Vaiṣṇava saint of Bengal who came to Orissa in A.D. 1510 had a great influence on these contemporary *Pancha Sakha* group of poets. Their writings are mainly based on common characteristics of social reforms. They all hated professional priests, preached against caste system and claimed the right of the śūdras to read and write the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas.*

Baḷarām Dāsa, the most famous and talented among the *Panchasakhās* is the author of *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa,*[24] a monumental work in Oriya literature and one of the earliest vernacular Rāmāyaṇa in Northern India. He portrayed

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the characters, making the heroes and heroines of the epic more humane and natural than the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa.* His heroine Sītā is a sad lovely faithful Oriya bride. She cooks and serves for the whole family. A believer in casteless society, the poet wished to preach the gospel of social reforms through his writings in satire and revolted against the brāhmaṇa priests who were obscuring true religion. In course of his description he cited how once Rāma and Sītā were surrounded by the paṇḍās for gift (*dakṣhīna*) and were insulted by them.[25]

Jagannātha Dāsa, the second of the celebrated Panchasakhās, a brāhmaṇa, and a scholar in Sanskrit composed the Oriya *Bhagāvata* for the rural folk. The original sanskrit *Bhagāvata* was not accessible to the rural people and by translating the sacred book of the *Bhagāvata* Jagannātha Dāsa induced all classes of people to learn vernacular language.

Among other comrades of the *Panchasakhā* group, Ananta Dāsa and Yōśavanta Dāsa wrote mostly about the Tantrik Yōga philosophy and the miracles of the Bhaktī cult. Ananta Dāsa wrote some *Bhajanas, Chautiśā, Garuḍa Gōvinda* and some *Mālikās.* In his *Hetudaya Bhagāvata* he cited the philosophy of the Vaiṣṇavism like *Piṇḍa Brahmānda, Kāyasādhanā* etc. In the *Bhajanas* he advised the people to recite the name of *guru* instead of engrossing the earthly pleasures of life. Yōśavanta Dāsa is remembered for his ballad *Gōvinda Chandra* which is the Bible for the Nātha cult mendicants of Orissa. He is still remembered by the Nātha mendicants through his songs.

Achyutananda Dāsa, the last and youngest of the *Panchasakhās* was famous for his *mālikās* or prophecies. He was the most active reformer. In his *mālikās* he predicted the degradations of the brahmaṇas to the level of śūdras, and the equality among all beings. In this way he attacked the brāhmaṇic rituals and warned them for their rigid dogmaticism. He also wrote the *Kaiyarta Gītā* for the fishermen and *Gōpālanka Ogāla* for the cowherds. His *Harivaṁśā* in seven parts is an original work holding the framework of the Sanskrit model, highlighted the social status and social consciousness of the cowherds in Orissa describing the life story of Kriṣṇa, the lord of the Gōpālaka class (*gauḍas*).

Education

Education in medieval Orissa was mainly confined to the upper stratum of the society. *Agrahāras* were the centres of the Vedic learning. A great sanctity was attached to the Vedic education during the period. The Vedic teaching was one of the functions of the brāhmaṇa donees of the *agrahāras.*[26] These donees were generally wellversed in the various branches of the Vedic learning. The Nagari plates[27] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, dated A.D. 1231, registers the donation of lands and villages to a number of brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the *Vedas.* An early Gaṅga inscription,[28] dated A.D. 682, records the grant of a village Haḍuvaka by king Devendravarman at the time of his *mantradīkṣhā* to

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Guru Patañga Śivāchārya, who possessed a profound knowledge of the *Vedas, Itihāsa, Purāna* and *Nyāya Vidyā.*

Besides the *agrāharas,* education was greatly fostered by temples and the monasteries (*maṭhas*). There was a difference in the curriculum of teaching at *agrāharas,* temples, and *maṭhas.* In *agrāharas* the learning was confined to the Vedic studies and Sanskrit learning whereas provision was made for the study of several branches of knowledge like music, dance, fine arts, literature in the temples and *maṭhas,* being financed by the kings. The Orissa Museum plates[29] of Aniyankabhīma III (A.D. 1211-1238), register grant of three *vāṭis* of land to Jameśvara *maṭha* where the *Vedas* and *Vyākaraṇas* were taught. Further, it records that the *Bṛht Vṛiddha Maṭha* where the *Vedas, Vyākaraṇas* and *Purāṇas* were taught received nine *vāṭis* of land.

Towards the 15th century, some separate educational institutions were established in Orissa known as *chāṭaśāḷī.* Sarala Dasa[30] says that he has not studied in his village's *chāṭaśāḷī.* In *Rudrasudhānidhi*[31] and *Chāṭa Echchāvatī*[32] mention of *chāṭaśāḷis* are to be found as being financed by the kings and provision for food and shelter was made for teachers and poor students.

Courses of Studies

Sarala Dasa's *Mahābhārata*[33] contains valuable information regarding the curriculum of primary and higher studies. From the description of Kṛṣṇa's early education, it is known that the main courses of studies for primary education were *Ekphalā* (thirty letters) *Baramātrā* (twelve vowels), *Yuktākṣara, Anusvāra, Visarga, Śļōka* and sixty four languages out of which Oriya, Telingi, Nagarī, Dakhinī, Kanauja and Drāvida were important. After completing these studies Śrīkṛṣṇa is seen studying different *Vedas Jyōtiṣā Śāstra* (astrology), *Navagraha* (astronomy), *Ratiśāstra* (sexual science), *Asṛuti vadya vidyā, Āshirvāda vidya, Dhanuvidyā* (archery).

In *Rudrasudhānidhi*[34] also similar references are found of the courses of studies in Orissa. The hero in *Rudrasudhānidhi* goes to his teacher Udayana Acharya for studies and his courses consists of *Varṇa* and *Akṣara* (letters and alphabets), *Añka* (Arithmetics), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Upavyākaraṇa, Jyōtiṣa śāstra, Mahākāvya, Nāṭaka, Upanāṭaka* and *Abhinaya.* He studied for ten years and after completion he goes to another teacher for training in archery which he completes in two years. Thus, it may be concluded that the education of Medieval Orissa consists of a twelve years course.

Migration of Scholars

Tārānātha[35] (13th century A.D.) relates the story of the migration of the scholars on the wake of the invasion of Bakhtyār Khalji. He says that Śākyaśrī fled to Jagaddala which was located in Oḍiviśā (Orissa) and three years later

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went to Tibet. The Jetavana Vihāra at Srāvasti was one of the important educational institutions of Northern India, which attracted teachers and scholars from distant areas of India. Śākyarakṣita, a teacher from Utkala (Orissa) and his student Vagiśvararaksita from Chōla country were living there.[36]

Education of Women

Female education was appreciated by the royal and aristocratic families. The curriculum for the women education is known from the *Chāṭa Echchāvati*[37] of Kavi Banamali Dasa. Princess Echchāvati studied *Śāstras*, Music, eighteen Purāṇas, *Smṛtis*, and *Sāhityas*. Princess Parimaḷā[38] was also well versed in writing and *Kāvyas*.

It is known from the inscriptions that Śivarāni, a noble lady of Gaṅga lineage and mother of Saptaya Pradhāni, a minister of the Gaṅgas, is described as a *Kaḷiyuga Saraśvati* or the goddess of learning.[39] It seems that learning in music was most popular among women. Chandrikādevi, the daughter of Anaṅgabhima III was proficient in the art of music and dance.[40] Some sculptures of the temples of Bhubaneswar depict women figures in the position of writing.[41]

The accession of Kapiḷendradeva in A.D. 1434 brought a radical change in the field of learning and literature in Orissa. The Gaṅga court only patronised Sanskrit learning and the royal priests looked down upon the native language and culture of the people in general. It seems that the masses of the people began to develop interests and love for the Oriya language and literature to which the Gaṅga monarchs and priests showed complete apathy. When Kapiḷendradeva ascended the throne, he gave full royal patronage to the Oriya language and literature. Immediately after accession, he issued royal proclamations in the Oriya language. It is only in the Gajapati period that the Oriya literature took its final shape resulting in the composition of numerous monumental works. But in the long run the composition of religious works like Vaiṣṇava literature had a pernicious effect on the society. The literature on Chaitanya philosophy in the Oriya depicting love alliance between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa with sexological symbols and sublimation of illegal love depicting (Raganuga Bhakti) love for piety became prominent towards the declining days of the Gajapati monarchs in Orissa.

NOTES & REFERENCES

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2. H. K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, pp. 234-35.
3. *ibid*, p. 258.
4. *ibid*, p. 259.
5. Vide *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, I, p. XVII.
6. H. K. Mahatab, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

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7. *ibid*, p. 322.
8. R. Subrahmanyam, *The Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa*, pp. 179-80.
9. For details of the Sanskrit literatures of the time of Pratāprudradeva, H.K. Mahatab, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-34 may be consulted.
10. *ibid.*
11. D. C. Sircar, "A Manuscript of Jivadeva's Bhaktivaibhava", *Indian Studies, Past and Present*, IV, no. 1 (1962), pp. 105-10.
12. S. Mohanty, *Odiyā Sāhityara Ādiparva*, p. 33.
13. M.M. Chakravorty, "Oriya Inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries," *JASB*, I (1893), pp. 88-104.
14. *op. cit.*
15. Reporduced in B. Mohanty, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-54.
16. *op. cit.*
17. S.N. Dash, *Odiyā Sāhityara Itihāsa*, pt. I, pp. 182-86.
18. *ibid.*
19. A.B. Mohanty (ed.) *op. cit.*
20. For opinions of different scholars see, A.P. Sah, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
21. "The Chronicle of the Jagannatha Temple Puri", *PIHC*, XX, (1957), pp. 204-7.
22. B. Mohanty, *Oriyā Sāhityara Itihāsa*, II, (Sāraḷā Sāhitya), p. 19; and S.N. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-98.
23. D. Mohanty, *Panchasakhā Oriya Sāhitya* deals in details.
24. *op. cit.*
25. M. Manasinha, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
26. Vide Chapter VII on, Castes and Communities, for functions of Brāhmaṇas.
27. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
28. *JAHRS*, II, pp. 271-76.
29. *OHRJ*, XII, pp. 164-96.
30. *Mbh. Drōna Parva*, p. 92.
31. *op. cit.*, p. 47.
32. *op. cit.*, p. 5.
33. *Madhya*, p. 409.
34. K. K. Behera, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 100-04.
35. *IHQ*, XXVII, (1951), pp. 141-46.
36. H.C. Roy, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 522.
37. K. N. Mahapatra, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 6.
38. *Parimala*, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIX.
39. *SII*, VI, 1180.
40. *EI*, XIII, p. 150, verse 19.
41. R.L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 177, Plate XXVI, no. 117.

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TEN

Trends in Religion

Throughout the medieval period the community life in Orissa was closely interlinked with the various religious sects and institutions. Religion had a great pull upon the then Oriya culture like art, architecture and literature on the one hand, and the outlook towards life on the other. They sought to explain the unexplained phenomena of nature by the ideas of Tantra which possibly they inherited from their past. Mainly the literature created during the period were of devotional character. A large number of works sought to explain the theological subtleties and philosophical values of different cults. Similarly, the architecture of the period mainly depicted in the temples was greatly influenced by religious ideas and glorified the values associated with various deities. The period also marks the synthesis of different religious ideas shaping religious believes of the people. This was the period when the great Hindu revivalists like Śaṅkaracharya, Rāmānuja, Mādhava and Nimbarka visited Orissa and established their zonal monastic centres at Puri for propagation and continuance of their faiths in Eastern India.

Decline of Buddhism

The gradual decline of Buddhism towards the 9th-10th centuries A.D. was a very significant socio-religious phenomenon.[1] The internal divisions within Buddhism resulted in its disintegration into many factions. One of the causes of the religious decline may be its particular monastic character. Monastic abuses, lack of sexual discipline and penetration of the native tantric ritualistic concepts became marked features of the Buddhist *vihāras*. The Māhayana form of Buddhism was more widely prevalent in Orissa. But this sect failed to maintain its hold over the popular pulse for a longer period may be because of the impact of the innate tantric tendencies of Eastern India. It metamorphosised Buddhism to obscurantism and made monks unpopular. Its ritualistic practices remained confined to the untouchables of the society outside the periphery of the village

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habitations assuming the cults of Vajrajāna and Kāḷachakrajāna. Moreover, the Sōmavaṁśis and the Gaṅga rulers were the champions of brahmanical orthodoxy and this created an unfavourable atmosphere for the survival of Buddhism in Orissa. It got a death blow with the emergence of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism when the patronage of the new dynasties went in favour of resurgent Hinduism.

That the Buddhists were murdered and harassed in those days has been referred to by Isvara Dasa in his *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*[2] (16th century A.D.). It states that seven hundred Buddhists were living during the reign of the Sōmavaṁśis, out of which six hundred sixteen were killed by one of the rulers. The number may be far-fetched but it shows the direction of the popular belief towards the degraded Buddhists. *Mādaḷā Pāñji*[3] also informs the execution of the Buddhists during the time of Chōḍagaṅgadeva.

There was a persistent attempt on part of the resurgent Hinduism to assimilate the Buddhist cults and doctrines in Orissa. The concept of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu became popular in Eastern India. Kṣemendra, in the later part of 11th century described Buddha as an *avatāra* in his *Daśavatāra Charita*.[4] In the *Naisadhiyacharita*[5] the Buddha is also presented as an *avatāra*. In Orissa, this idea was popularised by Jayadeva in his *Gitagōvinda*.

The Buddhist architecture was used for the Śaiva deities Many of the Aśōkan pillars were possibly converted into Śiva *lingams* at Bhubaneswar. R. L. Mitra[6] is of opinion that the *liṅgam* now enshrined in the temple at Bhaṣkareśvara at Bhubaneswar might have been a remnant of an Aśokan pillar. This view is supported by K.C. Panigrahi.[7] Thus Buddhism disintegrated and metamorphosised in Orissa giving way to the emergence of different popular cults and religious institutions under Hinduism.

Śaivism

Śaivism is traceable from the 4th to 5th centuries onwards in Orissa. In the Post-Gupta period it became the strongest sectarian movement. It was possibly the dominant religion in central Orissa which reached its climax during the Somavaṁśi rule in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. Although it experienced a serious setback when the Jagannātha temple was built in the 12th century and the Gaṅga kings turned towards Jagannātha cult. In spite of this Śaivism remained as a religion of the majority of the people of medieval Orissa.

The Sōmavaṁśi kings were the great patrons of Śaivism. They assumed the title of *Paramamāheśvara* in the copper plate grants and granted land and villages to the Śiva temples.[8] The Lodhia plates[9] of Mahāśivagupta Bāḷarjuna states that a village was granted to the god Isāneśvara installed at Khadirapadra. A number of Śiva temples were constructed during the Sōmavaṁśi regime in Orissa. Bhubaneswar was a prominent centre of Śaivism in India. Jajāti I built the Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswara.[10] The great Liṅgaraj temple of

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Bhubaneswar was constructed by Jajati II.[11] Queen Kalavati, mother of Udyotkesari of the same dynasty built the Brahmesvara temple in Bhubaneswar.[12]

The Gangas, who succeeded the Somavamsis were also devotees of Śaivism in the beginning. They were the worshippers of Gokarṇesvara whose seat was at the top of the Mahendragiri mountain in the Ganjam district. The copper plate grants of the Gangas describe the glory of the god Gokarṇeśvara, their family deity.[13] Vajrahasta V, has granted land for the maintenance of the god Koteśvara.[14] The temple of Madhukeśvara was built by Kamarnava II.[15] In his early records Anantavarman Chodagangadeva expressed his devotion to the God Lord Śiva[16] (*Paramamahesvara*). He has also granted a village Chākivāda in the Sāmva viṣaya in honour of God Rajarajeśvara (Śiva).[17] But in the later period, he changed his religious faith to Vaiṣṇavism. The cause of his transformation may be to his contact with Ramanuja.[18] After the completion of the construction of Jagannatha temple at Puri during his reign, he extended the royal patronage to the Jagannātha cult. Consequently Śaivism have lost its prominence due to lack of royal patronage.

Śiva was worshipped under different names in Orissa as Mahādeva, Lingaraj, Niḷakanthesvara and Bhairava or Rudra.[19] In the sculptures also Śiva was represented in various forms. Mainly the *linga* form of worship was vary popular. Sometimes, Śiva is represented with Parvati in a embracing position. A bull and lion are generally found on the pedestal.[20]

Śakta-Tantric Cults

The Śakta-Tantric currents had become a prominent feature of religious life of medieval Orissa. Orissa was one of the main centres of Śakta worship in Eastern India. Scholars trace the emergence of tantra from the pre-historic period.[21] But it is generally believed that the trantric tendency originated from Buddhism.[22] N.K. Sahu[23] has rightly stated that tantricism emerged in Orissa with the decline of Buddhism.

There are differences of opinion among the scholars about the rise and growth of tantricism in early medieval times. Max Weber[24] states that tantricism originated due to the greed of the brāhmaṇas for fees which led them to offer their services to the folk deities to compete with Jainism and Buddhism. Many also assign its rise and growth due to purely spiritual and mystic terms. But R.S. Sharma[25] has ascribes its origin and growth due to its material basis for the upliftment of the people.

Śakta-Tantric tendencies had a great impact upon the other religious cults of Orissa. The Vajrayāna order of Buddhism became the epitome of Tantrism. Śaivism which was a prominent cult in Orissa, had its impact on the cult of Rudra or Vairava Śiva. The *kāpālikas* were devotees of Śiva and Jagannātha. Even the Śakta tantrics conceived Jagannātha as Bhairava and Vimla as Bhairavi.

Several Sanskrit tantric texts of this period in Oriya script have been

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found[26] and two of them, the *Kaulacudâmani* and the *Varâhi Tantra* are ascribed to the ninth-tenth centuries.[27] The Vajrayôginisâdhanâ of Sahajayâna school contains rituals recommended by Indrabhuti, a legendary king of Orissa.[28]

Tantric influence may be gathered from the widespread belief in *mantras*. These tendencies have tremendous effects in the socio-cultural spheres of people's life. It acknowledged the power of *mantra* and developed a systematic philosophy of the world. It represented a progressive outlook as it sought to improve the position of women and to relax the rigorous rules of the caste system.

Tantricism may be said to be both a philosophy and a religion. It was associated with the man's good living and well being of his body and soul. Śaivite tantricism centres round the conception of Śakti and Śiva as the guiding spirit behind the mystry of creation of the universe symbolised by the terms *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛiti*. Supreme and ultimate reality was conceived in terms of the union of the premordial male and female powers in the universe. The religion aims at *jñâna-karma-samucava-vâda* in the shape of worship of the cult of Śiva-Pârvati which leads to achieve perfect knowledge and perfect realisation. Its aim is to attain *siddhi*, enlightenment, health, wealth and power which could be achieved through the yogic rituals and religious vehicles of five *makaras*, i.e. *mâtsya* (fish), *mamsa* (meet), *madya* (intoxicating drink), *maithuna* (sex) and *mudrâ* (physical gestures).

The worship of Śakti as the premordial female power possibly coming down from the pre-historic nomadic life, known under various names like Durgâ, Chaṇḍikâ, Kâḷi. It seems to have been widely prevalent by the patronage of the ruling dynasties for the popularisation of these local deities. *Madaḷapâñji*[29] states that Jajâtikeśari (10th century) built a temple for the Goddess Vimaḷâ at Puri. Similarly, the Gangas who were devotees of both the cults of Śiva and Jagannâtha also extended their patronage to the Śakta-Tantric deities. The Pattali grant[30] of Rajendravarman, of the 9th century A.D., records the grant of a village to the goddess Kânchipôtti Bhaṭṭârikâ. Anantavarman Chôḍagangadeva also donated land for worship of the Goddess Bhagavati.[31]

Sculptural representation of Śakta deities is seen in different places and in varieties. The images of the *Mâtrikâs*, can be found at Jajpur, which was an important centre of Śaktism. In the Markandeśvara temple (8th century A.D.) at Puri and Parśurameśvara temple (7th to 8th century A.D.) at Bhubaneswar, the images of Mâtrikâs can be seen. The Vaitâl temple (7th to 8th century A.D.), a Śakta temple, contains various Śakta images like Durgâ, Ardhanârîśvara, Mahiṣâmardini, Mâheśvari, Indrâṇi and a group of Saptamâtrikâs.

Ranipur Jharial in the Bolangir district of Western Orissa was one of the main centres of tantric worship. The temples of sixty-four *yôginis* survived uptil now against the ravages of nature at Jharial which has been ascribed to the 9th century A.D.[32]

Bhubaneswar, the centre of Śaivism, was also a seat of Śaktism. The temples of the Kâpâḷini, Môhini, Uttarâyaṇi, Gauri, Râmâyani and the Dakṣhiṇa

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Chaṇḍi are regarded as the famous Śakta *pīṭhas* originated in the 8th century A.D.[33]

Hirapur near the Bhargavi river in Puri district was another centre of Śakta *pīṭhas* of Orissa. In 1953, K.N. Mahapatra has discovered a group of sixty-four Yōgini temples[34] there. The images found there has been identified as Aindāi, Varāhi, Vaiṣṇavi, Kanemāri and the Brāhmaṇi which belong to the Saptamātrikā group.[35]

About the origin of the Tantric *pīṭhas*, the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (11th century A.D.) states that the first brahmanical tantric *pīṭha* in India originated and prospered in Oḍra (Orissa) and its presiding deity was Jagannātha.[36] Sarala Dasa in his *Mahābhārata* also mentioned about the worship of sixty-four yōginis in Orissa.[37]

In this period many tribal deities were given brahmanical sanctification and were identified with the Śakta deities like Durga and Kāḷi.[38] These tribal deities may be variants of pre-historic fertility cults, were related to the concept of female goddess who protect men, ascertains the fertility of female folk, and soil, and accept blood sacrifice for her propitiation. Even now in Orissa, many tribal goddesses like Maṅgaḷā, Chaṇḍi, Mahesvari, Pataṇeśvari, Khambeśvari etc., are worshipped in different parts as presiding deities of a particular village, town or a political unit.

Jagannātha Cult

The active support to the Jagannatha cult by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva and the construction of Jagannatha temple at Purushottam Puri marked a decisive change in the religious life of Orissa. After shifting his capital from Kaḷinganagara to Vāraṇasi Kaṭaka, the local deity Jagannatha became the Imperial cult of Orissa. From that period onwards, as H. Kulke states "kingship became part of the cult and the cult became part of the Orissan kingship and its main source of legitimation."[39]

However, it is not the Imperial Gaṅgas who first gave patronage to the Jagannātha cult. The Sōmavaṁśi king Jajāti I built a temple of Puruṣōttama at Puri as early as A.D. 949. H. Von. Steitencron[40] has shown that a temple of Jagannath existed in the 11th century at Puri. He states that Jajāti I began the construction of the temple of Jagannātha but left it incomplete and later on Choḍagaṅga undertook the work and brought it to completion.

There are various theories regarding the origin of the Jagannātha cult. Scholars have attempted to recognise either the Buddha or Jaina emblems in the four symbolic images of Jagannātha temple. Nilakantha Das[41] is of the opinion that the three main images, Baḷabhadra, Suvadrā and Jagannātha collectively stand for the Jaina trinity concept of *Samyakajana*, *Samyaka Charita* and *Samyak-dṛsti*. H. K. Mahatab[42] and M. Mansinha[43] have attempted to trace the origin of Jagannātha from Buddhism which was prevalent as a dominant religion in

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Eastern India. They contended that the worship of three symbols in Buddhism called *tri-ratna* such as the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha may be identified with Baḷabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha. Their main contentions are that the image of Jagannātha contains a mysterious substance thickly padded in silk which was replaced at the time of change of the body. This mysterious element was thought to be nothing else than some physical remains of Buddha. The bathing and car festival of Lord Jagannātha also resemble the Buddhist festivals and there is no caste rigidity in Jagannātha temple which is similar to Buddhism.

Whatever may be their contentions, there is no doubt that Jagannātha cult has its tribal origin. The process of Hinduization was particularly frequent and intense during the Medieval times.[44] The emerging Bhakti cults brought a new religious impetus and its new institutions and temples became agents of the process of Hinduizaiton by the royal patronage. The Jagannātha temple, a striking example of such a development patronised by the Gaṅgas and the Gajapatis, enshrines a deity of the tribal origin.

Scholars like K.C. Mishra,[45] R. Geib[46] and A. Eschmann[47] have dealt with the tribal origin of the Jagannātha on the basis of literary evidences. The *Puruṣōttama Māhatmya*, the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the *Muṣali Parva* and the *Vana Parva* of Sarala Dasa's *Mahābharāta* and *Deuḷatōla* refer to the śavara origin of the Jagannātha cult. They narrate that the deity was originally worshipped by the aboriginal śabara chief Viśvavasu in the forest and which later on appeared at Puri. The Jagannātha iconography still seems to be of a tribal look and the wooden images may be of crude tribal origin. The justification of the presupposition is reinforced by the existence of a special group of priests called *Daitāpatis* who are thought to be the descendants of the original tribal priests.

During the Gaṅga and Gajapati periods some devotees of the Mahāyāna sect mixed with the tantricism and combined with the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite ideologies, might have given birth to a new theological concept to this tribal cult resulting in a new conception of the Jagannātha cult. The assimilation of Nīḷamādhava with Puruṣōttama Jagannātha appears to have been a remarkable feature of Orissan Vaiṣṇavism. It did not completely eclipse the Śaivism, Buddhism and the Śakti worship, rather it assimilated certain ideas from all these three faiths.

Thus it has been noticed that the Jagannātha cult is a synthesis of various religious strands of Orissa. Various castes, communities and sects, their customs and traditions were taken together and made into one religious cult for the universal appeal. The institution of Jagannātha has influenced the life of Oriya people from the medieval days to the present day. It remained the core of the beliefs, value systems and norms and social behaviour of Orissa people. The present Jagannātha temple at Puri was one of the important centres of Vaiṣṇavism. Hindu devotees, generations after all over India visited the *Puruṣōttama Kṣetra* to offer worship. The cult remained an essential dimension of the very soul of the Oriya life and culture.

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The Natha Sect

The Natha sect, a widely prevalent variant of Sahajajāna sect in Northern India[48], had their followings in Orissa in large numbers. Many itinerant Natha mendicants visited Orissa and preached the glory of their cult among the rural folks. The followers of Mahimā cult and some sections of the weavers and rural artisans who are called *Jugis* in western and coastal belt of Orissa followed the precepts of these Natha mendicants.

This sect which owes its origin from the name of its founder Gōrakhanātha (c. A.D. 1000-1200) is known to have visited Orissa and spent a part of his life at Bhubaneswar. There are references about him in the medieval literature of Orissa in form of legends. There are differences of opinion among the scholars regarding the original abode of Gōrakhanātha.[49] B. Mohanty[50] on the basis of Sarala Das's *Mahābhārata* states that he originally belonged to Gorakhpur which was named after him.

In the *Gōrakh Saṁhitā*, there are references to eighty-four Natha *gurus*.[51] The *gurus* were roaming about in distant parts of India to propagate their faith. So it is wrong to ascribe these *Siddhāchāryas* or *gurus* as the inhabitants of a particular reigon. But the regional chauvinism of many historians from different parts of eastern India prompted them to claim *Siddhāchāryas* as the inhabitant of their own state. Whatever may be the place of their origin, some of the Natha *Siddhacharyas* lived in Orissa, established their *maṭhas* and impressed upon the life of Orissa. They preached their faith in the language understood by the then rural folk. B. Mohanty has collected their literature and categorised them as *Natha Sahitya*.[52] Sarala Dasa[53] in his *Mahabharata* has referred to the names of Natha-Gurus like Gorekṣanatha, Matsyendranatha and Satyanatha. In *Amarakoṣa Gitā*, Matsyendranatha was known as Makṣandelinātha, the son of Minanātha.[54] Jaḷandhara or Jaḷandheripā was one of the prominent Nātha *Siddhāchāryas*. According to Tārānātha, he was born in Sindh and spent most of his life in *Oḍiyān pitha*.[55] His main disciple was Kanhupā or Krishṇāchārya who belonged to Orissa.[56] In *Gōbindachandrakathā*, Jaḷandhāripā was mentioned as Hāḍipā.[57] There are also devotional songs for Jaḷandharinātha among other *Siddhāchāryas*. In the *Sabhā parva* of the *Mahābhārata* there is a description of the meeting between Arjuna and Jaḷandhāripā who later accepted him as his disciple.[58]

Chauraṅginātha another Nātha *guru* has been referred to in Ananta Das's *Hetu Udaya Bhāgavata*.[59] *Gōrakhsaṁhitā* states that Birūpākṣa visited Virajākṣetra (Jajpur) and Puruṣōttamaksetra (Puri) of Orissa.[60] Tārānātha[61] states Kaḷavirūpā, disciple of Birūpākṣa, was born in Oḍian (Orissa). Kānhupāda has been referred to in Isvara Das's *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*.[62]

The Nātha cult ultimately tended to be a flow in the mainstream of Śaivaism as its religious values submerged with Śaivism and tantra. Sometimes they were confused with the Buddhism. This is because Matsyendranātha is considered

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to be identical with Avalōkiteśvara, the fourth Boddhisattva. Like the Śaivas, Nāthas also used to wear ear rings, visit Saiva pilgrimage and worship the Bhairavas and mother Kali.

The Nāthas believed in the *Sarıra Sādhanā* known as *Haṭayōga* which advised its followers to train the body in a manner that the functions of the physical state of the personal body could be guided by the will of the *yōgi*. The decay of human cells which causes death affects life of ordinary people. But the Nātha *Jogis* as masters of their physical bodies, were considered to be, above the decay of the physique and soul. The great Nāthas are still believed to be alive after their death.

These Nātha mendicants were mainly from the lower stratum of the society and outcastes. They were more popular among the rural folks. For years together they were the moral preceptors for the rural people of Orissa without any royal patronage. Even now the *yōgis* move about from village to village and beg alms singing ballads enriched with moral and spiritual love with a *kendrā*, a type of one stringed simple musical instrument, in hand. Yōśavanta Dāsa's *Gōvindachandra* (16th century A.D.) and Uḍḍhava Dāsa's *Tīkā Gōvinda Chandra*, a later work of 18th century A.D. were the most important works of Nātha literature which are recited by the *yogis* even today.

Vaiṣṇavism

The worship of Viṣṇu in Orissa goes as far back as the age of the Maṭharas[63] (4th century A.D.) centering round the worship of *parama bhāgavata*. After the establishment of Jagannātha as the Imperial deity of Orissa by the Gaṅgas, the Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa took a new shape combined itself Buddha, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, and Jagannātha as the incarnation of all these Gods.

The conception of *avatāravāda*, obviously of a Vaiṣṇava origin, was popularised by Jayadeva in his *Gīta Gōvinda* in Orissa. The theory of *avatāravāda* which symbolised religious and social aspirations of the people had already been focussed by the *Purāṇas*. In a verse of the *Bhāgavat Gīta* the promise of repeated incarnation of Viṣṇu for the protection of the virtuous and the destruction of the wicked laid the genesis of the conception of *avatāravāda* in the medieval period. It was in this background that the Bhakti movement which gained momentum in the 12th century installed Kṛṣṇa and Rāma cults in the centre of religious life in Orissa. It might have also worked for the cohesion and synthesis of the Buddha cult who was included in the list of the *avatāras*.

The most important development which took place in Orissa was the growth of a separate type of Vaiṣṇavism centering round the cult of Jagannātha which is different from all other parts of India. Rāmānuja, the champion of Vaiṣṇava cult (worship of Narayana) visited Puri and Bhubaneswar towards the end of 12th century A.D. and tried to convert all the sects to his faith. Narasiṁha Muni and Narahari Tīrtha also came from Canarese speaking country and wanted to

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establish what Rāmānuja has started earlier. Jagannātha, the Imperial cult of Orissa, underwent a metamorphosis from the tribal cult to a popular cult with the harmonius combination of the cults of the Buddha, Krișṇa and Rāma. This harmonius assimilation was depicted by Jayadeva in the 13th century through his *Gita Gōvinda.*

Jayadeva originally introduced the Kṛṣṇa cult in Orissa which was destined to determine to a considerable extent the religious life for the succeeding centuries. Later on the Kṛṣṇa bhakti cult was popularised by Chaṇḍidāsa and Chaitanya in Eastern India.

The great Vaiṣṇava saint Chaitanya visited Orissa from Bengal by A.D. 1510 and settled down at Puri as he found the religious atmosphere congenial to his philosophy. In Bengal Kavikarnapura[64] and Vṛindābana Dasa[65] already attributed Chaitanya as Kṛṣṇa incarnating himself at Navadvipa and held him to be a combined incarnation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj[66] gave publicity to this new interpretation to the divinity of Chaitanya.

Before the advent of Chaitanya, Kṛṣṇa did not receive any exclusive devotion. The followers of Chaitanya held that Krișṇa Bhāgavat constitute the complete manifestation of personal Godhead in perfect form. They gave the highest place to Radha next only to Krișṇa. Also the Vaiṣṇava school of Orissa believed in the concept of personified *Śūnya* and identified it with Kṛṣṇa. Moreover, they also accepted the *mantra* of the Vaiṣṇava sect in which Rāma or Balarām being the elder brother is given precedence over Kṛṣṇa. But whatever may be the differences, the followers combined a particular form of Oriya Vaiṣṇavism with Chaitanyaism. Some of his followers believed Chaitanya to be the Kṛṣṇa incarnate while his other disciples of Orissa thought him to be an embodiment of Jagannātha.

Due to the missionary activities of the *Panchasakhas*[67], Vaiṣṇavism tended to be a popular faith in Orissa. Chaitanya also introduced the practice of *nagara-kirtana,* the street singing of holy names in Oriya and Bengali. Poet Vidyāpati of Mithiḷā had already composed songs in the Brajabuli dialect on the eternal love dalliance between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The pilgrims who came from Mithiḷā propagated those songs in Orissa. The contemporary poets of Orissa were influenced by those songs and composed songs in Oriya on the same theme. Achyutānanda Dāsa[68] and his associates composed poems on *rāsa* or the love sport of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and the *gōpis.*

Vaiṣṇavism had far-reaching consequences in the socio-political life of medieval Orissa. Scholars differ in opinion regarding the effects of Vaiṣṇavism. R. D. Banerjee[69] has made responsible Chaitanya for the downfall of the martial spirit of Orissa on the eve of the invasion of the Turko-Afghans. The pernicious effects on the vigorous literature of the Oriyas of Chaitaite philosophy with the sexological symbols and sublimation of illegal love became prominent towards the declining days of the Gajapatis.

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Sun Worship

The worship of Sun had been continuing in Orissa since long past. The Sumandala plates[70] of Dharmarāja of the time of Prithvivigraha (A.D. 570) state that he was a devout worshipper of *Sahasraraśmin* (the Sun God). The Sōmavaṁśī rulers were also worshippers of *Āditya* as known from their copper plate grants.[71]

In the Gaṅga period also, the worship of Sun was in vogue. An inscription of the Nīḷeśvara temple at Narayanpuram records that an image of *Sūrya* was enshrined thereby Rājarāja I.[72] Sculptural representations of Sun God are found in the Parśurāmeśvara, Vaitāl and Mukteśvara temples at Bhubaneswar. The Navagraha images (nine planets) which are associated with the solar cult, are also found in the Lingaraja and the Muktesvara temples.

The worship of Sun God reached its climax in Orissa in the time of Narasiṁhadeva I (13th century A.D.) when he built the famous Sun temple at Konark known as *Arkatīrtha*. It brought Orissa into the orbit of *pithas* of Sun-worship in India. However, in later times, royal patronage was not given to the Sun worship. It was never popular as other religions in Orissa. Sarala Dasa[73] also referred to the worship of Sun in his *Mahābhārata*. Even now in Orissa people worship Sun on the day of *Sāmba Daśamī*. But the Sun cult possibly never gave rise to a new sect though a class of Māga brāhmaṇas who claimed descent from Sāmba, have migrated from outside and settled in Orissa.

Throughout the medieval period the community life of Orissa revolved round the rise and disappearance of various religious sects and institutions. The people were more religious than before and enjoyed different religious festivals throughout the year. The religious trends also influenced the Orissan culture in the field of art, architecture and literature. The cult of Jagannatha became the national God of Orissa which influenced the Orissan life upto the present times.

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Conclusion

The advent of Later Eastern Gaṅgas in the political arena of Orissa marks the formation of a regional kingdom in Eastern India. The political developments during the period between A.D. 1038 and 1568 marked simultaneously the political ascendancy of Orissa as well as its decline. Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅgadeva, the mighty emperor of the Later Eastern Gaṅgas extended his imperial frontier from the river Hooghly in the north to the river Godavari in the south. Kapiḷendradeva, the first monarch of the Sūryavaṁśī dynasty who succeeded the Gaṅgas, also followed the policy of territorial expansion. He expanded his empire upto Srirangam in south. But the successive rulers could not consolidate their hold on these territories for a long time. During the later part of the Gajapati rule, Orissa lost its prized territories in south. Finally during the reign of Mukundadeva, Orissa was conquered by Turko-Afghans in A.D. 1568.

The Gaṅga period marks the economic prosperity of Orissa typified by its attainments in the field of art, architecture and literature. The economic prosperity also led to the expansion of the territories by military conquests. The material basis of the Gaṅga empire, revealed in the temple architectures at Puri, Konark and Bhubaneswar, was possibly due to the extension of the empire which filled the treasury of the Gaṅga rulers. The settlements of the land revenue system, strong centralised administration with a decentralised setup, vast army exemplified in epigraphs and contemporary literature, speak eloquently about the apparent prosperity of the country and relative affluence of the upper stratum of the society.

But despite the material prosperity of the Gaṅga period, it laid the genesis of economic decline of Orissa. The land system framed by the Gaṅgas had a far reaching consequence in disturbed regime of the Gajapatis. The grant of land to brāhmaṇas and officers led to rise of a class of landed intermediaries in Orissa. These landed intermediaries were, however, not free from the state control in the Gaṅga regime. When the Gajapatis ascended the throne of Orissa, taking advantages of Muslim invasions and the Vijayanagar empire, they revolted against the Gajapati rulers for their independence. The Gajapati monarchs successfully suppressed the revolt of the landed intermediaries and to gain the support of the people Kapiḷendradeva exempted taxes on salt and cowrie. These measures

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served possibly as temporary arrangements to save the empire from impending disruption. During the regime of Bhoi dynasty and Mukundadeva, these feudatories were a constant danger for the state and they sided with the enemies on the eve of the Turko-Afghan conquest in A.D. 1568.

The grant of land to different groups of donors led to the extension of cultivable land resulting in the abundance of agricultural production. In order to face droughts and famines, the Gangas constructed many water reservoirs and canals. In spite of all these measures, Orissa was often visited by recurrent famines and droughts in the Gajapati period. And due to internal trouble and foreign invasions, the Gajapati rulers could not undertake any new project of irrigation to ward off unprecedented natural calamities resulting in the scarcity of food and decline in the agrarian products in the country.

Orissa was famous for a number of crafts and industries centering round both villages and urban centres. There were village based agro-industries like manufacture of jaggery and oil. Salt manufacturing was another type of localised industry. A number of industrial products like textile, perfume were manufactured to cater the needs of the landed aristocrats and temples who were the main consumers of the products. However, it is not known exactly whether crafts and industries declined in the Gajapati period. The evidences are rather scanty. But it may be concluded that in the Gajapati period, the arts and crafts have got a setback due to the foreign aggressions. The historical evidenc is absent to show that the Gajapati rulers have taken any interest for the improvement of industrial crafts in the country.

The Ganga period marks the growth of trade and urban centres. The interestate and intra-state trade was carried through the trade routes in Orissa. The surplus of the agrarian and industrial products were the main commodities of trade. Overseas trade was confined to the South-East Asian countries like Java, Bali, Sumatra, Borneo, Malaya and Simhala through a number of ports situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. This continuance of trade have declined from the 15th century A.D. during the later part of the Ganga rule. This might have been due to Muslim aggressions and revolt of the feudatories in the Gajapati reign and decline in the agrarian and industrial products. Also, the rise of the maritime activities on the Coromandel coastline greatly contributed towards the decline of overseas trade of Orissa.

The construction of the massive Hindu temples had a far-reaching role in the society both for its prosperity and decline in the later period. Massive construction programmes of temples and the maintenance of religious institutions during the Ganga period exemplifying its material prosperity but drained a lion's share of state's income from the treasury. This might be the cause that the Gajapatis could not undertake any new project of temple construction. During the Ganga period, centering round the temples many development activities were carried out. As important social institution, the temple priests carried out socio-political and cultural activities in the township. They employed a number

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of people for its maintenance. It lent money to the needy and was one of the main consumer of local products. But during the Gajapati period temples rose as landed magnates due to donation of lands. As an institution it became hoarders of ornaments and offerings of the devotees which became target of recurrent invasions of the Muslims from Bengal who sacked the temple treasuries frequently, thus bringing chaos and confusion in the society.

The traditional *varṇa* based social structure of Orissa underwent some changes in the society. First, rigidity in the brahmanical caste system faded out and the concept of four *varṇas* in the society became superfluous inasmuch as the brāhmaṇas were not strictly confined to their caste professions. Second, there was the operation of the kṣatriyaization process in the social hierarchy. The relative importance of the vaiṣyas relegated to the background which gave rise to the emergence of a dominant class of Karaṇikas and proliferation of sub-castes in the upper strata of the society. Third, there was an upward mobility of the śūdra community as their accumulated value of surplus products made them increasingly owners of cultivable lands. These developments demolished the concept of a traditional society based on the *Dharmaśāstras* paving way for social tension in the declining days of the Gajapati rule in Orissa.

Economic decline after an unprecedented prosperity undermined the old values and brought dynamic changes in the life style of the people. These changes were typified in dress, ornaments, art and architecture of the period and are eloquent in the emergence of popular pietism and relic worships and numerous cults echoed in the vernacular literature of the period.

Social changes in the period also brought changes in literature, learning and education. The traditional brahmanical learning and education which was confined to the elite section of the society faded away towards the 15th century A.D. Oriya script as a common man's language came into existence and a group of poets-cum-religious reformers popularised the Oriya vernacular through their writings. The *Panchasakhā* group of poets of *Sahajiyā* Vaiṣṇava sect formulated the monotheistic philosophy of Chaitanya bridging gulf between the formulations of Śaṅkara and Ramanuja depicting eternal love dalliance between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa with the sexological symbols and sublimation of illegal love which had a pernicious effect leading to the breakdown of moral norms and values of the society.

The community life of Orissa throughout the medieval period revolved round the rise and disappearance of various religious sects and institutions. The developments of various religious cults had an impact on the Orissan culture in the field of art, architecture and literature. Buddhism declined giving rise to Śakta-tantric currents of religion which influenced other religious cults in turn. The Vajrayān order of Buddhism became the epitome of Tantrism. The development of Jagannātha cult marked the upward mobility of a tribal cult to an Imperial cult. But this did not eliminate other religious believes as Śaivism also flourished in Orissa. The Nātha sect, a widely prevalent variant of Sahajajāna

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sect of Northern India had their followers in rural Orissa in large numbers. For years together they were the moral preceptor of the rural folks of Orissa without any royal patronage. The most important development was the growth of Vaiṣṇavism centering round the cult of Jagannātha. The Vaiṣṇava saint Śrī Chaitanya who came to Orissa from Bengal and settled down at Puri popularised the Rādha-Kṛshṇa cult with great vigour. The spread of Vaiṣṇavism has a far reaching consequence in the religious life of Orissa.

The socio-economic decline and frequent internecine wars among the feudatories led to the political anarchy and military confusion in the society. Taking advantage of the situation, the self-seeking minister Gōvindavidyādhara murdered the two sons of Pratāprudradeva, the last emperor of Gajapati dynasty and usurped the throne thus establishing the Bhōi dynasty. During his weak regime, Orissa lost its most prized territories in south. The rule of the Bhōi dynasty marked the period of internecine trouble. A civil war took place between prince Raghurām of Bhōi dynasty and Mukundadeva, the Governor of Kaṭaka for the throne of Orissa. The political development in Eastern India and the rising tide of the Turko-Afghans could not isolate Orissa. The stage was set for the conquest of Orissa. When Mukundadeva came out successfully from the civil war and ascended the throne he was no match to check the military aggressions of the Afghans. It is during his reign that finally Orissa was conquered by the Turko-Afghans in 1568 under the command of Prince Bayazid, the son of Sultan Sulaiman Karani of Bengal.

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Appendix

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE LATER EASTERN GAṄGAS

The copper plates of Vajrahasta - *JAHRS*, VIII, 163-91.
The Arasavalli plates of Vajrahasta - *EI*, XXXII, 311-16.
The copper plates of Rājarāja I - *JAHRS*, VIII, 169-91.
Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta - *EI*, III, 220-24.
Narasapatam grant of Vajrahasta - *EI*, XI, 147-58.
Nadagrām grant of Vajrahasta - *EI*, IV, 183-93.
Madras Museum grant of Vajrahasta - *EI*, IX, 94-98.
Pōnduru plates of Vajrahastadeva - *JAHRS*, IX pt. III, 23-30.
Andhāvaram plates of Vajrahasta - *EI*, XXXI, 202-04.
Chikkāvalsa plates of Vajrahasta III - *EI*, XXXIII, pt. III. 145 ff.
Peddabammidi plates of Vajrahasta III - *EI*, XXXI, 308 ff.
The Mandasa plates of Vajrahasta III - *JBORS*, XVII, 175 ff.
Śrikakulam plates of Vajrahasta III, *JAHRS*, VIII, 163 ff.
Bōddāpādu plates of Vajrahasta III, - *EI*, XXXIV, 42 ff.
Mādagrāma grant of Devendravarman and Bhīmakhedi - *EI*, XXXI, 4 ff.
Ganjam plates of Vajrahasta III, *Bharati*, 1935, Feb. p. 305.
Dirghāsi Inscription of Vāṇapati - *EI*, IV, 314.
Galavalli grant of Rajarāja I - *EI*, XXXI, 187.
Vizagapatam copper plate grant of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva - *IA*, XVIII, 161-165.
Murupaka copper plate grant of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva - *JAHRS*, XII, 9-16.
The copper plate of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva - *JAHRS*, VIII, 163-91.
Korni copper plate grant of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva - *JAHRS*, I, pt. 3, 106-24.
Vizagapatam copper plate grant of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadeva - *IA*, XVIII, 165-72.
Selada copper plate grant of Chōḍagaṅgadeva - *JAHRS*, VIII, 183 ff.
Mukhaliṅgam Temple Inscription, Śaka Era 1037 - *SII*, V, no. 1058.

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Mukhalingam Temple Inscription, Śaka Era 1007 - *SII*, V, no. 1146.
Vizagapatam stone Inscription, Śaka Era 1014 - *SII*, X, no. 651.
Rōnānki stone Inscription, Śaka Era 1015 - *SII*, V, no. 134.
Drakṣyarām Temple Inscription, Śaka Era 1021 - *SII*, III, no. 1363.
Mukhalingam Temple Inscription, Śaka Era 1030 - *SII*, X, no. 656.
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